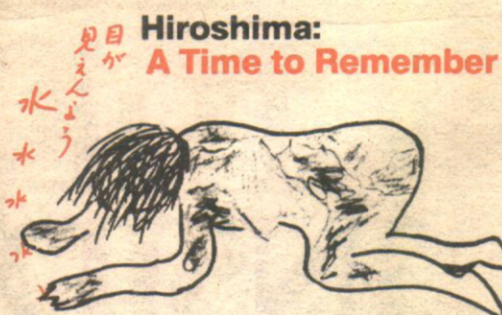


IN THESE TIMES



VOL. 5, NO. 21

APRIL 22-28, 1981

75 CENTS



Will The Blacks Stand Alone?

The Black Caucus
is sticking to its
guns on social
justice—but many
of its allies
have been caught
up in the
rightward sweep.



Jane Byrne Visits The Neighbors



THE INSIDE STORY



Steve Kagan

The Condo Wars reach Congress

By Daniel Lauber

It was the same old story as Nicholas Gouletas placed tenants who complain about abuses in buildings his company converts to condominiums in the same class as presidential assassins. "There will always be some people who will be dissatisfied no matter what you do," Gouletas, chairman of the board of American Invsco, the nation's largest condominium converter, told a House subcommittee investigation on the effects of condominium conversions and on the practices of American Invsco. "Even in this great society of America, this great society, somebody attempted to kill the president; so there will always be somebody that is dissatisfied," Gouletas said.

Earlier the subcommittee, chaired by Rep. Ben Rosenthal (D-N.Y.), heard housing experts and economists testify that "condominium conversions are the most inflationary phenomena in America today" and warn that "conversions and accompanying speculation threaten our nation's ability to provide housing affordable to America's middle class."

The hearings followed an increasingly typical pattern. Housing experts armed with reams of data supplied by municipal planning departments and other neutral sources examined conversions in terms of their effect on housing affordability and the displacement of tenants. Industry representatives then addressed the issue from an entirely different angle: condominium conversions promote home-ownership and home-ownership, at any cost, is our basic national housing aim. The industry argues that while conversions do cause "some" displacement, the solution is to help tenants buy their units with government subsidies.

"Conversions will be identified as one of the two or three most significant factors in meeting America's changing housing needs and in revitalizing its cities," claimed Northwestern University professor Louis Masotti, a consultant to American Invsco and other developers. In testimony best characterized as bereft of hard data, Masotti argued that "most households are willing to dedicate a larger portion of their budgets—35 to 40 percent, as opposed to the traditional 25 percent—in order to own their own residences."

Masotti's solution to the higher costs that result from converting rentals to condominiums is to subsidize the purchase of units by low and moderate-income households. This way they too can get into the housing speculation game. Only chairman Rosenthal challenged Masotti's claims—Republican committee members cheered him on.

The scene was different when witnesses not employed by Invsco or other condominium developers testified. The new wave Republicans on the committee consistently badgered these witnesses and at one point accused

them of trying to nationalize the housing industry.

Jack Kaplan, an attorney and staff assistant to Chicago alderman David Orr, explained that more than a dozen studies have shown that conversions, on the average, increase the cost of living in an apartment by 60 to 100 percent. "In a typical conversion where the rent had been, say, \$300 a month, the post-conversion cost of living in the unit is over \$600 a month. Even with tax breaks, the cost is well over \$500 a month. There is probably nothing more inflationary in America today than condominium conversion," Kaplan insisted.

Calvin Bradford, director of the Community Development Program of the Hubert Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota, explained how post-conversion costs are still greater than pre-conversion rents even when appreciation of all tax deductions are taken into account, contrary to industry claims.

Other witnesses broke down the demand for condominiums into three groups. First there is the natural demand generated by persons who want to own and live in a condominium. But there are also two types of artificial demand consisting of speculators who then rent units out (generally at 175 percent of preconversion rents) and reluctant tenant purchasers. Studies in Chicago and in Palo Alto, Calif., show that more than 70 percent of the tenants who buy converted units buy because they fear that if they do not purchase they will be unable to find another home in the same community and that if they do find one, it will also be converted.

Witnesses also criticized current government policy for allowing rental units—provided by the private sector at a profit and affordable to low, moderate and middle-income households—to be converted to higher cost condominiums at a time when new rentals cannot be supplied without government subsidy. Yet developers can build new condominiums at a profit without subsidies. Rather than protecting affordable rentals and letting the limited demand for condominium ownership be met by new construction, current policy guarantees higher housing costs for everyone and increased government subsidy for inflationary programs like Section 8 (which subsidizes construction of new rental units). Rolf Goetze, a former director of housing revitalization for the Boston Redevelopment Authority, told the subcommittee that such subsidies will cost taxpayers nearly \$38 billion annually.

Several witnesses suggested that the single best way to keep housing costs under control and still promote home-ownership is to encourage the conversion of rental apartment buildings to limited-equity cooperatives. A limited-equity cooperative is the same as any other, except that the resale price of shares is limited by a pre-set formula—for example the cost of shares may be allowed to increase by only 5 percent a year, or 10 percent, or not at all. Whatever the formula, this type of arrangement keeps the cost of shares affordable to the low, moderate or middle-income residents who were tenants. Since debt service, which comprises 30 to 50 percent of the cost of ownership, is fixed, any increases in monthly costs are limited to actual increases in maintenance, utility and insurance costs and property taxes. Monthly costs in a typical limited-equity cooperative in Park Forest, Ill., for example, have risen from \$165 in 1973 to \$235 in 1981—far below the increases for comparable rental units.

A powerful empire.

But Republican subcommittee members were not interested in these proposals. Instead they chose to agree with most anything condo conversion advocates had to offer—sensitive, no doubt, to the political clout Goul-

etas demonstrated at the hearing. On the witness stand Gouletas surrounded himself with former Representative Thomas Ashley (D-Oh.), a past chairman of the subcommittee holding the hearings, and Andrew Brimmer, the first black appointed to the Federal Reserve Board. Fifteen Invsco employees at the hearings engaged in a lobbying blitz that subcommittee chair Rosenthal called "one of the most intense I have ever seen at any time on any single issue."

"I don't think anyone has put together the empire of powerful lawyers and politicians" assembled by Invsco, Rosenthal told the *New York Times*, "not even the oil companies."

Rosenthal was referring to Invsco's successful efforts to rescind the contempt of Congress charges voted by this same subcommittee last December when Gouletas failed to comply with a subpoena for documents and data on his conversions. Among those lobbying Congress on behalf of Invsco were Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson, and former Minnesota governor and U.S. Senator Wendell Anderson.

On the home front, Gouletas' sister and partner, Evangeline, married New York Governor Hugh Carey on April 11. Days after exchanging "friendship rings" with Evangeline, Carey announced his opposition to tough new condo legislation proposed by the New York Attorney General.

Meanwhile, cities across the nation are considering tougher condominium conversion controls. To preempt their efforts, the conversion industry is lobbying state legislatures to adopt the Uniform Condominium Act (UCA), which would prohibit local regulation of condominium conversions.

The industry already has succeeded in Pennsylvania. Just months after Philadelphia adopted an 18-month moratorium on conversions in 1979, lobbyists representing Invsco and other Chicago-based converters who had migrated East, descended on the Pennsylvania legislature to push through the UCA, which eliminated Philadelphia's moratorium and opened the floodgates of forced conversions in that city.

Later this month these same firms will introduce the UCA in the Illinois General Assembly, just as aldermen in Chicago and Evanston are considering restrictions on conversions. The Illinois Association of Realtors has raised a \$300,000 PAC fund to support this effort.

In Wisconsin legislators are now trying to remove the pre-emption provisions from state law so Milwaukee can adopt its own laws to regulate the condominium juggernaut brought there by American Invsco. But industry representatives are lobbying hard to retain the state ban on municipal condominium regulation.

John McDonough, acting director of the newly formed Massachusetts Tenants Organization, reports that about a dozen Massachusetts communities have recently enacted moratoria or other restrictions on conversions. And a bill now before the state legislature would ban further conversions in any municipality where the rental vacancy rate drops below 8 percent.

Where will the conversion battle end? The condo industry recognizes no bounds to its ambitions and clearly is willing to go to any lengths and any level of government to avoid regulation. At the same time, tenant organizations and a growing group of urban specialists are recognizing the inflationary effects of conversion and the costs they impose on all taxpayers by increasing the need for subsidized housing. Stay tuned for the next chapter of "Condo Wars."

Daniel Lauber, who has for several years researched and written on the effects of condo conversion, testified at the recent congressional hearings.

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Jane Byrne plays to the crowd

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

CHICAGO MAYOR JANE BYRNE was true to form when she moved at the end of March from her classy Gold Coast apartment to a fourth-floor flat one mile west in the poor, black Cabrini-Green public housing project, which is plagued with crime, poorly maintained, and lacks most basic community amenities. Byrne has been nothing if not spontaneous and flamboyant in the two years since she won the mayor's seat, upsetting the old Democratic machine, and her unprecedented move to Cabrini was widely applauded as " gutsy."

She needed the applause, which was reflected in a sharp surge upward in public opinion polls. Although she rode into office with landslide support after a surprise primary victory, Byrne has dissipated most of that backing. She jettisoned many of her campaign promises, angering important constituencies that had brought her into office—among them blacks, liberals and city firefighters, who had been promised a contract and got a toughly handled strike instead. There was constant turmoil in her administration as appointees arrived and departed abruptly, often within days, as Byrne volatily changed her mind. Many of the appointments, including some that stuck, were of dubiously qualified individuals who often drew hugely inflated salaries (such as a \$35,000-a-year etiquette chief who was out in a week after it was revealed that she had falsified her credentials). Wild ideas seemed to pop involuntarily out of her mind—such as shutting off part of Lake Shore Drive for a July 4th grand prix auto race. Deadly political enemies became her best buddies overnight, as former allies were dumped, a propensity that drew national attention when Byrne switched in a few days from a lukewarm endorsement of Jimmy Carter to support for rival Ted Kennedy.

Even more than usual in American politics, Byrne's personality became the center of attention. Former friends, turned opponents, publicly labeled her a "nutcase" or "psychological basket case." The move to Cabrini keeps her personality in the forefront, although presenting its more favorable tough, activist side. But it also brings real policy issues back to city politics.

Even the best moves go awry.

It is not as if important policy issues have been absent, even if personality has often dominated. But even when Byrne has made progressive moves in line with the hopes raised by her campaign, their significance has been lost in a flurry of attention to her style. Byrne's battles with other factions of the old machine as she attempted to gather its remnants under her own control has colored most of her moves. Political scientist Milton Rakove, an admirer of former Mayor Richard J. Daley, contends that Byrne learned the political martial arts from tutor Daley but failed to continue his emphasis on professional administration of city departments.

There have been serious problems not only with administrative follow-through but also with coherence of ideas. "She is essentially not a policy person," contends Dick Simpson, a former independent alderman. "She doesn't have long-term views that are consistent."

Although Byrne's campaign at Cabrini-Green is one of her more positive and progressive moves, as well as a demonstration of political shrewdness and leadership, it is also typical of her pro-



Steve Kogan

pensity to mess up even when she tries hard or means well. "She's got this problem," Don Rose, the anti-machine organizer who advised her campaign and then broke with her, maintains. "She contaminates even the good things she does."

Clearly Cabrini-Green had a crime problem. Several gangs battled among each other and intimidated many residents, and police blamed them for the majority of the dozen killings at the project so far this year. For years residents have complained that only the worst police are assigned to the project, and that they refused to answer distress calls. Now the large complex housing nearly 14,000 people is flooded with police and violence has greatly declined. But grateful as residents are for that change, they are angered at the virtual "police state" under the direction of both a tough police commander and a retired Green Beret general that has resulted. "The police have been harassing people ever since she's been here," Anita Lynch, 21, complained. "The police just grabbed my brother-in-law as he came off the elevator and threw him up against the wall and pulled guns. She's not coming here to protect us. She's coming to move us out to move her people into condominiums."

Go west, young professional.

Since Cabrini-Green now stands in the way of the new upper-middle-class housing that has rapidly spread westward from the lake shore, tenants have been concerned for years that the city would find some excuse to tear down the project

and leave them homeless. Proposals for converting the projects to condominiums, which would eliminate most of the very poor, continue to be offered. "Charlie Swibel and Arthur Rubloff [two prominent Chicago realtors] want this property," social worker Henry Crumpton said. "This is prime land." More likely, Cabrini-Green will be "sanitized" for the sake of its wealthier neighbors, with much tighter screening and more elderly (safe) tenants.

Already Byrne has ordered eviction proceedings against up to 800 families, and 23 households have been sent packing. The evictions angered many residents, especially since some innocent victims were rudely expelled. People in other neighborhoods are also worried about where the evicted folks will end up.

Byrne has ordered the area cleaned up, planned extensive roach control (as she and her husband-advisor Jay McMullen continue to stamp roaches in their apartment) and ordered the garbage cleared out of incinerator chutes that had backed up many stories deep. Many of the elevators still don't work, and repair of them will be expensive.

As Byrne returns most evenings to her green cinder-block apartment with Montgomery Ward furnishings, she is forced, as Carol Keys, 22, an accounting student, says, "to see what it's like to go in and out of the building, to smell the smells we have to smell."

After a few such encounters, Byrne acknowledged that the city had just written

The mayor's move was one of those rare actions that appealed to both black and white.

off the project in the past. But she did not remove Charles Swibel, her confidant and a realtor of questionable ethics who had directed the Chicago Housing Authority for over two decades, even though he is arguably responsible for the neglect.

The city has made some efforts before, especially after two police were killed by snipers in 1970. But after the projects improved, the extra private and public assistance was withdrawn and the problems worsened again. Byrne's new plans, whether for police surveillance, eviction, sanitation or social welfare—such as an infant care program and a food coop—may temporarily improve matters again. But

skeptical residents expect results to be short-lived. And, in any case, these programs do not confront what was identified in a 1976 consultant's study of Cabrini-Green as "the single most important problem"—unemployment. Without jobs, social worker Crumpton, an ex-gang member, said, the hopelessness of youngsters will continue, and hopelessness fosters gangs and criminality.

Mixed signals on race.

But even if the scorecard on Byrne's move to Cabrini is mixed so far in terms of benefits for the residents, it is a strong plus politically for Byrne, since it is one of those rare actions that appealed to both blacks and whites. Indeed, the greatest incoherence in Byrne's policy has been on matters of race. "I got the impression that she says, 'Today I've got to do something for blacks because they're mad at me,' and the next day she says, 'I've got to do something for the ethnic whites,'" U.S. Rep. Harold Washington says. "I think she doesn't have a clear municipal philosophy."

Byrne drew kudos from blacks when she appointed a new school board with five respected blacks out of 11 members (though the school system is 61 percent black). But she immediately disappointed them by fighting the board's choice of a black minister as chairman, and then further angered blacks recently by dumping two of the black members for whites, including one ardent opponent of busing. Though the city faces a decades-delayed mandate to desegregate its highly and deliberately segregated schools, Byrne continues to oppose any busing, even though some busing will be essential for even minimal integration. The alternative to the current plan before the Board of Education, inadequate though it is, will most likely be the divisive turmoil of a court-imposed plan. Jane Byrne's hard line provides no leadership on acceptance of integration.

The inconsistency Byrne shows on racial matters reflects an effort to appeal politically to two divided camps without forging a plan that provides a possible basis for cooperation. Race remains the unresolvable conflict in Chicago politics. Blacks once were the basis of the machine's power, but as they sought more influence and rewards in the '60s, the late Mayor Richard J. Daley shifted attention increasingly to white wards that had previously opposed the machine. Black voting grew more independent of the machine, but in frustration black participation also declined. Now there is a volatile bloc of considerable potential power, since blacks make up over 40 percent of the ci-

Continued on page 10



Byrne and husband Jay McMullen at home in the Cabrini-Green project.

IN SHORT

Danger: office work

Aiming to spotlight National Secretaries' Day (April 22), Working Women, the national organization of office workers, has released a report on the health and safety hazards of clerical work. Among the 1,300 office workers in Boston and Cleveland who were surveyed or interviewed in depth, the top office hazards cited were stress and indoor air pollution, which results from sealed windows and faulty ventilation systems.

Of those surveyed, 72.5 percent said their working conditions were either "somewhat stressful" or "very stressful," and they identified the chief causes of stress as lack of promotions and raises (49.3 percent), low pay (46.7 percent), repetitive or monotonous work (38.1 percent) and lack of input into decision-making (33.4 percent). The report also cites a 1975 study by the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health that found that secretaries had the second highest incidence of stress-related diseases among workers in 130 occupations.

Fumes from photocopying machines, extreme temperatures, eye-strain and headaches, back or neck pain, fatigue, digestive problems and insomnia were also the focus of many complaints. To alleviate these conditions, Working Women has called for congressional hearings on automation and job stress; a review of current building fire and safety codes; legislation that sets standards for safety in the manufacture of VDTs and other office machines; and support for legislation requiring the testing and labeling of potentially toxic substances found in offices.

It's the jobs, not the genes

Cancer death rates among blacks have risen 25 percent since the 1950s, according to the Chicago Area Committee on Occupational Safety and Health (CACOSH). Researchers have attributed much of the problem to unhealthy working conditions in industries that employ large numbers of black and Hispanic workers—chemical and rubber factories, coke ovens and dry-cleaning plants are just a few of the hazardous workplaces mentioned.

While corporations continue to blame genetic factors such as sickle cell anemia for a variety of worker health problems, CACOSH says that medical experts have discounted that approach.

Peace, movement!

On Sunday, May 3, demonstrators will gather in Washington, D.C., for a march on the Pentagon. Demands include an end to U.S. intervention in El Salvador; money for jobs and human needs, not for the military; an end to racism, sexism and anti-gay bigotry; no draft; and a halt to the U.S. war build-up.

Though the Peoples' Anti-war Mobilization (PAM) has racked up plenty of endorsements for the action, there have been complaints from participating organizations about Workers World Party dominance in making crucial tactical decisions such as picking the locale and selecting speakers. Some participants felt strongly that a march on, say, the Capitol instead of the Pentagon would be less likely to lead to a violent confrontation and would be more effective. But on this issue and others they were voted down at a meeting of PAM's United Steering Committee, leading at least one group—the American Friends Service Committee—to withdraw its endorsement of the march.

Still, despite the many frictions, unemployed auto workers from Detroit, anti-nukers from Boston, anti-Klan activists from Atlanta and others will gather at 11 a.m. on 22nd Street and Constitution Gardens, and marching will begin at noon. Call one of PAM's local branches or its national office in Washington—(202) 462-1488—for details.

Fear of future

The question "What do you want to be when you grow up?" may soon become superfluous, giving way to "Do you think you'll have a chance to grow up?"

According to the Zodiac News Service, Harvard Medical School professor John Mack asked similar questions of 1,000 grammar and high-school students between 1978 and 1980: "What does the word 'nuclear' bring to mind?" "Do you think you could survive a nuclear attack?" And so on. The answers, Mack wrote in *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, show that growing up under the cloud of possible nuclear annihilation is "having an impact on the structure of the personality itself." Many of the children and adolescents interviewed felt "unprotected" and "powerless," he added, and were "unable to think ahead in any long-term sense."

—Josh Kornbluth



Beneficiaries of overseas trade featured in OPIC's lavish annual report

OPIC will insure success where others fear to lend

A group of Ronald Reagan's "truly needy" gathered recently in San Francisco to hear government officials offer a wide range of comforting, sustaining services. Executives from corporate giants like Bank of America, Castle and Cook and Standard Oil—along with hopeful small-time hustlers selling tropical isles and jojoba beans—learned that the federal Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) intends to become more generous under the new conservative administration.

OPIC is most famous for insurance it offers American investors abroad, protecting them against "expropriation, war, revolution and insurrection." Where private insurers are cautious, OPIC is bold; where private policies insuring against political risks run from one to three years, OPIC writes 20-year policies; where private rates are high and subject to frequent revision, OPIC guarantees a continuing low rate. Even more significant is the fact that while OPIC is now self-sustaining, its insurance is backed by "the full faith and credit of the United States government."

The full faith and credit of the U.S. government also stand behind OPIC's loan guarantee program (insuring banks against losses on deals upwards of \$50 million), its contract performance guarantees and its insurance against the problems a company operating abroad may have converting local profits into U.S. dollars. And if a potential investor is still nervous about entering foreign markets, OPIC will help finance feasibility studies.

In addition, OPIC will work with firms to put together a complementary package of its own services with those of other government-sponsored international financial institutions like the World Bank, the Agency for International Development (AID), the Export-Import Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the International Finance Corporation. While corporations may complain that governments create uncertainty by interfering in the market, they are hardly ready to

scorn the steady hand of bureaucrats who speak their own language.

If they had any doubts, executives learned first-hand at the Mark Hopkins Hotel in mid-March that OPIC does speak their language. OPIC officials lamented the human-rights restrictions that keep them from operating in Chile, Uruguay and Argentina—and expressed hopes that the Reagan administration will be able to persuade Congress to lift these barriers. OPIC also worried out loud about the fact that their insurance against insurrection doesn't cover damage done during ordinary labor disputes—but they hope to be able to cover that "gray area" in the future. Though OPIC can only serve U.S.-based corporations or foreign firms owned 95 percent by U.S. citizens, the officials advised foreign-based firms with majority U.S. ownership that they need only establish a U.S.-based subsidiary.

More than 90 countries have signed agreements that allow OPIC participation in local projects and provide for settlement of OPIC claims at the countries' expense. But a few, like Mexico, have refused to deal with OPIC, finding either that they have all the foreign investment they want without OPIC or that OPIC infringes on national sovereignty.

The San Francisco meeting, though, downplayed the challenge of nationalism. The Bank of America's chief economist told his fellow executives that there were political as well as economic cycles, and that while he is now bearish on Central America, he is newly bullish on Northeast Asia (Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, China). As if to prove his point, China recently signed an OPIC treaty.

And if nationalism is not to be taken too seriously, neither is budget-cutting in the U.S. The new Reagan appointee as acting president of OPIC pointed out that while the Export-Import Bank and AID budgets may be cut, Reagan will be breathing new life into self-sustaining government agencies like OPIC. Executives at the meet-

ing complained that Export-Import procedures were just too technical and complicated, anyway. OPIC people promised to be more cooperative.

—Angus Wright and Anne Jackson

Remove cover before striking

"If I could talk to him personally," Lillian Harrell says, "I'd tell him my husband wasn't an enemy of the U.S. government. He was just a sick man."

Mrs. Harrell was talking about Thorne Auchter, new head of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). Auchter announced this month that he planned to burn more than 100,000 copies of an OSHA booklet prepared during the last days of the Carter administration on cotton dust and brown lung with her late husband's picture on the cover.

Louis Harrell, an early member of the Brown Lung Association, died in 1978 after working 44 years in J.P. Stevens mills in Roanoke Rapids, N.C.

Auchter said he felt that the cover of the booklet is "anti-business" and makes a statement that is "obviously favorable to one side."

"The photo makes a dramatic statement that clearly established a biased viewpoint in the cotton dust issue," Auchter went on. "While I certainly understand and sympathize with any victim of cotton dust exposure, I do not believe it is fair or proper to lend the weight of government to one side or the other in such a controversial area."

But Franklin Greer, who was special assistant to Carter's Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall, said the materials are "simple, straightforward explanations of the law, the agency and workers' rights under the law."

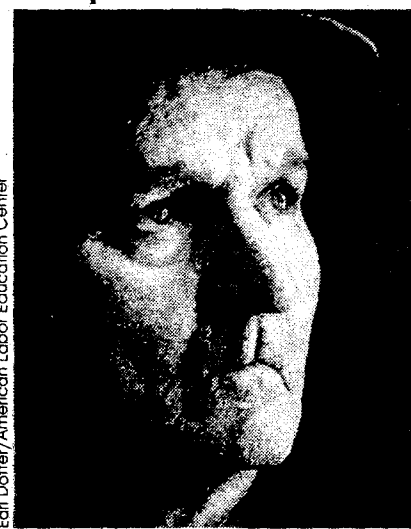
Margaret Seminario of the department of Occupational Safety and Health of the AFL-CIO, called the actions by the new OSHA head "a startling and shocking example of censorship."

Auchter said he also was recalling two other government pamphlets, three films and two slide shows about cotton dust so that he could review them.

For a copy of the pamphlet, sure to become a collector's item, send a donation to the Brown Lung Association, Box 1101, Roanoke Rapids, N.C. 27870.

—Bill Adler

Is this picture "anti-business"?



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IN THE NATION

POLITICS

Blacks in Congress refuse to cave in

By John Judis

WASHINGTON

WHEN RICHARD NIXON gave his 1971 State of the Union address, 13 members of the House of Representatives were conspicuously absent. The 13 belonged to the newly formed Congressional Black Caucus, then chaired by Detroit Rep. Charles Diggs, which had demanded a meeting with Nixon prior to his address. When he refused, they boycotted the speech.

Two months later, on March 25, Nixon finally met with the Caucus, which presented him with 51 demands. While Nixon was to ignore most of the demands, he would no longer ignore the Caucus itself.

Ten years later, the Black Caucus is still around. Its numbers have increased from 13 to 18. Its central demands remain full employment, national health insurance, full civil rights for minorities, and a foreign policy based on human rights rather than military force.

But the political environment in which the Caucus operates has changed drastically. Initially, the Caucus was given much attention as a "moderate voice" within a militant, broad-based, popular black movement. Now it is a militant voice within a moderate, narrow-based movement.

Initially, Black Caucus members were also part of a liberal Democratic bloc in Congress that repeatedly thwarted Nixon's legislative designs. Now, with few exceptions, the Caucus is liberalism. The Caucus members are like the Czech signatories of Charter '77, the embattled survivors of a reactionary invasion that has transformed their environment.

"In its internal position, in knowing what it wants to do and how to get there, I'd say the Caucus is enormously more effective than it was 10 years ago," Baltimore Rep. Parren Mitchell, who chaired the Caucus from 1976 to 1978 said. "But there is another side to the coin. We're always more effective in a positive climate than in a more negative climate. The question becomes, how do you get the Caucus' program through in this kind of climate?"

Meat, not martini.

In 1981, the heart of the Caucus program is its alternative budget, which newly elected chairman, Washington, D.C., Rep. Walter Fauntroy, unveiled at a National Press Club gathering March 18. While Mitchell had presented his own "human needs alternative budget" in 1980 to challenge the Jimmy Carter budget, neither the Caucus nor any other House Democratic group had previously offered a full alternative budget.

In his speech, Fauntroy described the Reagan budget as "the most extraordinary attempt by any president in modern times to redistribute income in this country, with money going from the poor to the rich while the middle-class comes out about even." In contrast to the administration's "cold and uneven solution" to inflation and unemployment, the Caucus' proposal "moves us toward the goals of reduced inflation and full employment with a compassion for people and a sharing of the burdens of these difficult times by the rich as well as the poor."

The Caucus' budget restores \$27 billion in social program cuts from the Reagan budget, but it adds \$27 billion in revenues by closing tax loopholes for the wealthy and for large corporations. For instance, it restores \$1.8 billion for the



Rep. Parren Mitchell believes the Caucus has learned a great deal about getting things done on Capitol Hill.

food stamp program, offset by \$1.5 billion in additional revenue gained by eliminating tax deductions for the three-martini lunch. It restores \$865 million in Economic Development Administration grants to small businesses, while eliminating \$700 million in oil company deductions for foreign taxes.

themselves to military solutions. They are social, economic and political in nature, and thus we have emphasized economic and food and technical assistance as the primary weapons in the arsenal for our confrontation with Soviet Russia. We favor an improved national security, but without wasteful military spending."

Caucus programs have remained constant over the last decade, while the political climate has changed.

While the Caucus' proposal calls for a deficit \$1.5 billion smaller than the Reagan budget, the Caucus rejects the usual balanced budget logic. "We have not as much a balanced budget problem as we have a balance of investment and consumption problem," Fauntroy said. "To put it another way, we are producing insufficient quantities of poorly designed products at too high a price."

The Caucus proposal also rejects the Reagan administration's three-year 30 percent cut in personal income tax rates and its corporate tax cuts, which, the Caucus charges, will only enrich the wealthy and "accelerate the flow of American capital to productive activity outside the United States." Instead, the Caucus proposes tax cuts for the poor and middle class and "tax reform that will assure capital formation and investment in world competitive enterprises."

The Caucus budget also calls for a \$5.1 billion reduction in Reagan's proposed defense outlays for 1982 and a \$26.9 billion reduction in long-term commitments. "In the area of world affairs," Fauntroy said, "we make the assessment that our world problems do not lend



Rep. Mickey Leland wants the Democratic Party to discipline members who "side with the enemy."

In the Caucus' first years, it had a fairly clear left and center without really having a right. Berkeley's Ron Dellums (the "black militant"), Detroit's John Conyers and New York's Shirley Chisholm were the left. Baltimore's Parren Mitchell was slightly to their right. And Detroit's Diggs, Cleveland's Louis Stokes, St. Louis' Bill Clay and New York's William Rangel occupied the center.

The differences between the Caucus' left and center have tended to fall outside the realm of possible congressional debate: in the degree of support they extended to Third World liberation movements and the degree of opposition to the American military; and in the willingness or reluctance to identify with the socialist, social-democratic or black nationalist left at home. But these differences were important in determining the Caucus chairs, who from Diggs to Stokes to Rangel to Mitchell to Chicago's Cardiss Collins have invariably been chosen from the center rather than the left. 1978 saw the most open, left-center contest for the chair, with the moderate Collins defeating Dellums.

Fauntroy himself is another representative of the center. Since 1958, he has been the pastor at the New Bethel Baptist Church in Washington, D.C. In 1961, he became the Washington coordinator of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. In 1963, he was a principal organizer of King's march on Washington. Elected in 1971, he was Washington's first 20th-century congressman.

Some aides to Caucus members regarded the choice of Fauntroy as unfortunate. By reputation and also by virtue of his non-voting status as a representative of the District, he is seen as someone who

Continued on following page



Rep. John Conyers and a growing number of his Caucus colleagues have come out squarely for a planned economy.

Continued from preceding page

lightweight, who will be unable to effect the kind of coalitions the Caucus needs to get even part of its program across. Many Democrats are still angered by his absence from the crucial Democratic Caucus vote last December when conservative Jim Jones narrowly outpolled liberal David Obey for the Budget Committee chairmanship. Even some Washington civil rights activists credit Dellums, rather than Fauntroy, with whatever gains the District has made over the last 10 years.

But others see hidden blessings in Fauntroy's appointment. They expect that Fauntroy's limited House responsibilities will make it easier for him to devote his time to the Caucus. Collins, the last chair, was widely faulted as a "do-nothing," who used the Caucus chair merely to embroider her re-election campaign. Fauntroy also has a good reputation as an organizer and administrator.

Fauntroy's own political convictions remain rooted in his ministry. "The relationship between my politics and my religion is one," Fauntroy said. "As a minister, my belief is that I am anointed of God to declare good news to the poor. Politics and democracy is the means by which you translate what you believe into public policy."

Fauntroy is at his most eloquent comparing his "mission" to that of the Mor-

The mood of the new Congress may deprive the Caucus of even token legislative victories.

al Majority. "I welcome the participation of people of religious conviction in the political arena," Fauntroy said. "My quarrel with the Moral Majority is that they do not come with the whole gospel."

"You should not come with good news to a mother that her fetus will become a child, and then after the child is here turn around and preach bad news to that child and his mother if it happens to be poor."

From agitation to legislation.

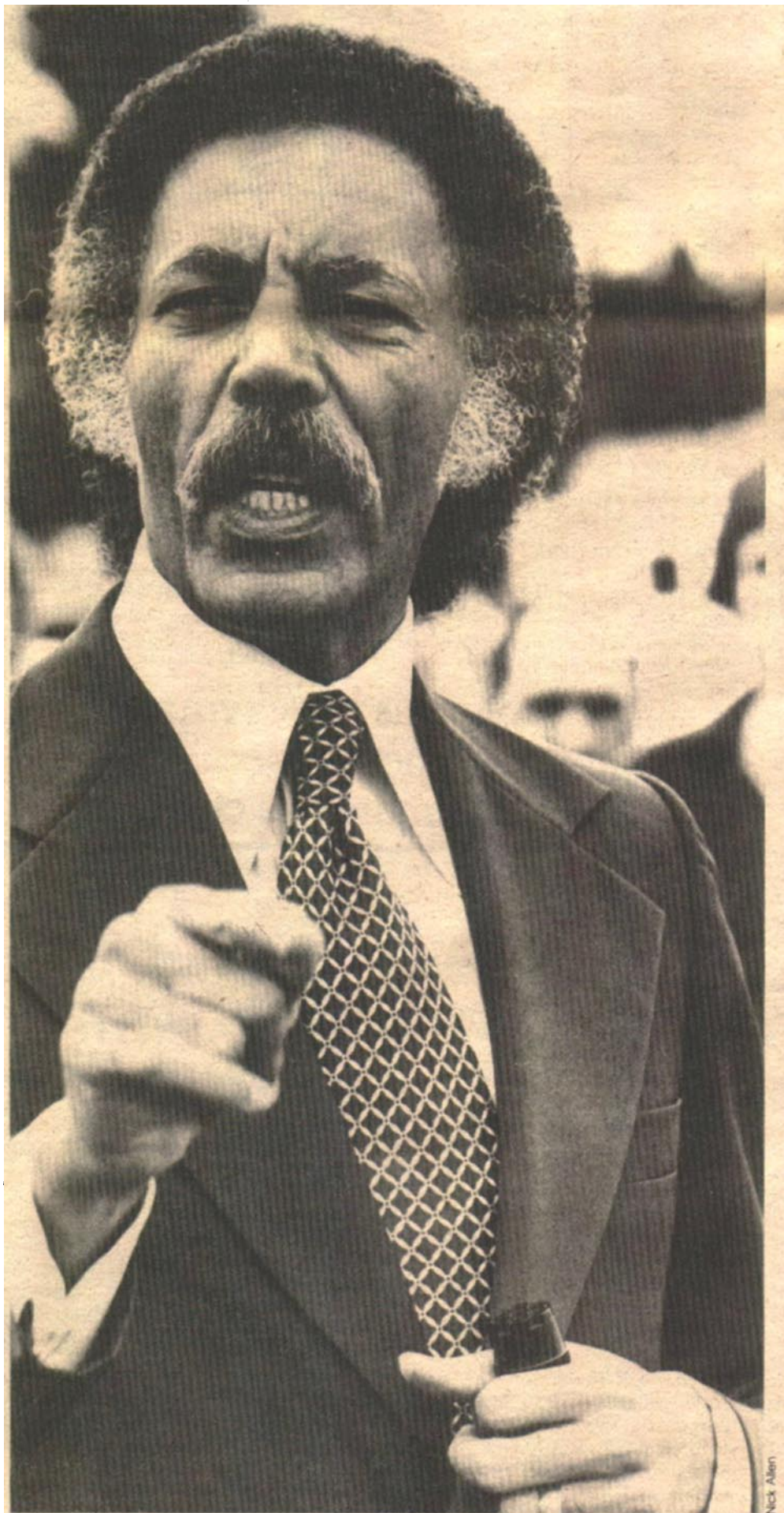
When the Caucus first began, its focus was broadly agitational rather than legislative. It aimed to get attention for itself and to dramatize issues. During its first two years, it held nationwide hearings on "racism and repression in the military," "government lawlessness," and "racism in the media." It came to Chicago to investigate the police killing of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton. And when Georgia Governor Lester Maddox flaunted his segregationist views in the House dining hall, it introduced a resolution declaring Maddox unwelcome in the facilities.

In 1972, it presented the Democratic Party with a 12-point black Bill of Rights that included full employment, national health insurance, a \$6,500 guaranteed annual income, support for African lib-

eration and home rule for the 80 percent black District of Columbia. In September 1972, the Caucus announced its "hit list" of 35 House members who had voted against civil rights legislation.

In 1973, with Stokes the chair, the Caucus changed its primary focus to legislation. From '73 to '80, it scored some important legislative victories, including Senate approval of a home rule amendment, the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill, and the 10 percent set aside for minority business in government public works contracts. It also helped block moves to withdraw sanctions from Rhodesia.

Rep. Ron Dellums worked hard for the District of Columbia home rule amendment, which is now languishing in state legislatures.



But its legislative victories have not necessarily borne fruit. By the time Humphrey-Hawkins was passed in October 1978, it had been reduced to a hollow proclamation of government intentions, which has been ignored by both the Carter and Reagan administrations. The D.C. voting rights amendment has floundered since being sent out to the state legislatures, with only nine of a needed 38 states having ratified it. And the minority business set-aside, along with federal government affirmative action guidelines, may be ignored or revoked by the Reagan administration.

In the current 97th Congress, it may not even be able to win token legislative victories. The first sign of the Caucus' isolation came in the December and January elections to the House Budget Committee, whose members are chosen by all the Democratic House members.

Since the Caucus' inception, it has always had a member on the Budget Committee. But in the 97th Congress, the Democratic Caucus turned down two black candidates, Julian Dixon and Harold Washington, in favor of white conservatives. Some House aides blamed the defeats on poor Caucus organizing. But in the past Democratic House members had accepted as a matter of course that there would be at least one black member on the crucial Budget Committee.

Not having a seat on the committee meant that the Caucus' alternative budget could not even be considered by the committee, but must be introduced from

the floor when the House votes on the first budget resolution.

It may also have contributed to the lackadaisical manner in which the Caucus presented its alternative budget. Few efforts were made to organize a meeting among House Democrats who might support it. It was not even entered into the Congressional Record. And copies were so scarce that when one aide to a white liberal Democrat wanted to get the Congressional Research Service to do a comparison of the Caucus budget with the Jim Jones budget, he was told that the service wasn't able to get a copy of it.

A progressive caucus.

The failure of the Caucus to build a congressional coalition around its budget had its counterpart in the failure of the more left-wing Caucus members to create a "progressive caucus" in the House. In the first months of the 97th Congress, Dellums and Rep. Mickey Leland worked with Madison, Wisc., Rep. Robertastenmeier, Connecticut Rep. Toby Moffett and Richmond, Calif., Rep. George Miller to create what was termed a "progressive" and "ideological" caucus, whose members would be united around their commitment to such issues as a "non-interventionist foreign policy," a "consumer-oriented energy policy," and tax reform.

The caucus idea attracted some interest from Democrats like New York Rep. Ted Weiss, but it quickly fizzled. "Many of the progressive members of the Congress did not want to be part of a named group," Leland said. "They didn't want to be set up as a target."

"Some thought it was a ludicrous idea, and some thought it was futile. We ended up meeting in several different sessions, and nothing concrete came out of it. If, in fact, the organization was to be the five people who consistently came, then there was no need to organize. We would rather meet in informal sessions."

In succeeding months, some of the same liberal Democrats that Dellums and Leland were trying to attract have drifted closer to the Reagan mainstream. Moffett, for instance, has told his aides that he will now probably support Democratic House Budget chairman Jim Jones' alternative to the Reagan budget, which makes minor restorations of the Reagan cuts. Active support for the Caucus budget may be limited to the 18 Caucus members.

But their isolation in Congress has not caused the Caucus members to abandon their priorities. At a breakfast meeting with United Auto Workers organizers in Washington April 7, Harold Washington followed Chicago Rep. Dan Rostenkowski to the podium. Rostenkowski, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and perhaps now the most powerful House Democrat, counseled moderation and offered his support for the Jones approach, but Washington would have none of it.

"I submit to you," Washington told the UAW organizers, "that this budget that was presented to you yesterday by my party—the so-called alternative budget—is just a bunch of potash. It's just as crazy as hell. It doesn't do anything for our people. It abolishes CETA just like the rest of them."

"What are the Democrats trying to do? One thing they're going to do. They're going to lose me. I am not going to be part of any charade perpetrated by fraud upon the American people."

Rostenkowski's rambling address met with quiet grumbling and then polite applause. Washington was interrupted with shouts of "right" and was given a standing ovation when he concluded.

Non-violent direct action.

But while the Caucus has not changed its priorities, it is changing its legislative strategy. Caucus members are now convinced that it must actively organize support for its proposals among the populace at large. It can no longer conceive of itself as the legislative arm of an activist movement, but must instead begin to furnish both the legislation and the activity.

In 1979, the Caucus set up an Action Alert Network, which was designed to create instant grassroots pressure for or



Rep. Harold Washington and other Caucus members reject the idea of a separate black party.

against legislation in the 113 congressional districts where blacks make up 15 percent or more of the population. The Caucus also appointed a Director of Network Development.

This April 14, it called together representatives of labor and public interest organizations to build national support for its budget. The meeting attracted about 100 representatives—half of what the Caucus hoped for—and at best lukewarm labor support. One AFL-CIO official, explaining his rejection of the Caucus budget, termed it “another transfer amendment.” (The transfer amendment, introduced every year by anti-war Democrats, would transfer funds from defense to social programs.) But the Caucus may

bers Rangel, Stokes, Gus Hawkins and Chisholm, offered his alternative economic program for America. It included “economic controls on profits, interest rates, energy prices, and wage adjustments,” “credit control and allocation” to help industries gain needed credit and discourage “nonessential and speculative borrowers,” “the creation of specialized regional and national development banks,” the “reimposition of price controls on oil,” the “creation of a federal oil imports agency,” tax reform, cuts in the defense budget, federal encouragement of “working involvement in management and business decision-making,” and the implementation of Humphrey-Hawkins.

ential majority for their politics in the Democratic Party. There is no discernible support within the Caucus for the recent proposal of a black political party. “I think it is ludicrous unless you are talking about a local situation,” Harold Washington said. “In the city of Chicago, it might make sense. In the state of Illinois, there ain’t no way. And in the country as a whole, you just isolate yourself.”

Fauntroy is equally emphatic. “I do not think an isolated black political party has any place in the arithmetic of our political power situation,” he said.

But the Caucus members agree that the Democratic Party itself has to change. “I don’t think the party can be an esoteric mishmash of ideologically polarized factions,” said Mickey Leland, who chairs the party’s Black Caucus. “I think the Democratic Party itself has to establish a set of principles. When you have [Texas Democratic Rep.] Charley Stenholm organizing a caucus of conservative Democrats, siding with the Republicans, they must know that they are exercising the greatest kind of treachery. They must know that the Democratic Party can’t truly support them.

“They should be stripped of their committee assignments, because we don’t side with the enemy in times of crisis. Not one of these people who exercises leadership against Democratic Party principles should be given a dime from the party’s campaign fund.”

Leland believes that by moving left rather than right the party could win back its national majority. “One of the things our Democratic leadership has al-

ways said is that in times of crisis we’ve got to go after those conservatives. That’s a bunch of crap. There’re millions of people out there who are disillusioned with the process because they’ve seen and felt no display of good will on the part of the Democratic Party to attract them.

“Poor people don’t vote in high numbers in this country. The reason is that we haven’t done a hell of a lot for them, particularly in the last seven or eight years.”

Lingering doubts.

But occasionally doubts seep into this scenario of a left-wing majority. When Leland talks about Houston and the Southwest, his optimism turns temporarily to despair and disbelief. “I am in an oasis in my district,” he said. “I feel surrounded, overwhelmed. I am now surrounded by some of the most right of right wings. It’s happening all over the South and Southwest, and it frightens me.”

Harold Washington also advocates a leftward turn for the Democrats. “It’s pretty clear you can’t out-Reagan Reagan,” he said. “The race to the right is crazy. And it doesn’t sell, because you disenchant your core as Carter did.”

But Washington can be pessimistic about the immediate prospects for a left-wing coalition. “There are other factors involved besides economic status,” Washington explained. “There’s the race factor, there’s busing, there’s abortion, there’s prayer in schools. There are all these moral things that are influencing people to a certain extent.

“And notwithstanding economic crisis, most white communities aren’t really hurting that much, are they? They want more money, they want more take-home pay, they want the price of bread down, but are they really hurting? So why should they be concerned about causes?”

Talking to Washington and Leland one hears both sides of the Caucus: its determination to fight for its principles, but also its fear that it may be defeated in the process: its conviction that a majority lies outside in the proverbial grassroots, and its fear that its isolation in Congress only reflects a popular isolation.

At times, this leads Caucus members to regard themselves as martyrs rather than politicians, saints in a sinful world. “I guess we have to hope for the best and take what comes,” Fauntroy said. “We have not been very successful in so many areas. When Mr. Carter announced his package, we characterized it as an unmitigated disaster for the poor and disinherited. It really didn’t make that much difference for policy recommendations.

“I’ve been told now all our screaming about an alternative budget is not going to do a thing because the administration is on this juggernaut, and it’s going to push it through. My only answer is that if it does, it will not be without our constructive alternative.”

Leland echoes these sentiments. “At least we want history to record that there was one group of people that did serve in the avant garde to fight the insanity of the Reagan budget.”

Even Parren Mitchell, who has been described as a “Milton Friedman conservative,” now believes that government planning is essential.

be able to use the coalition approach more effectively in the future.

Fauntroy himself threatens a return to the “non-violent direct action” of the King period as a means of putting pressure on recalcitrant legislators. “We are fast arriving at the point where the traditional political structure is not responding to the legitimate grievances of a broad range of people beyond blacks,” Fauntroy said. “It is my hope that over the course of this next Congress we will be able to lead those whose needs are not being responded to by the traditional political structures into non-violent direct action.”

Active government.

The Caucus’ list of preferred programs has not changed substantially from 1971, but its underlying political approach has slowly evolved from a compassionate and interested but fragmented concern with poverty, unemployment and Third World emancipation to belief in what could be termed an American version of social democracy. The AFL-CIO, NOW, Sen. Ted Kennedy and the NAACP support many of the same programs as the Caucus does, but only the Caucus has been willing to embrace the broader governmental implications of these programs. It has steadfastly refused to admit its ideological basis in deference to the prevailing anti-big government rhetoric.

Last Feb. 23, in response to Reagan’s economic address, Rep. John Conyers, with the support of fellow Caucus mem-

The so-called moderates in the Black Caucus now share this support of government planning. Parren Mitchell is sometimes accused of being a “Milton Friedman conservative” in his capacity as head of the Subcommittee on Domestic Monetary Policy. But in the sole dissent to the Joint Economic Committee’s 1980 report Mitchell called for controls on prices, wages, profits and rents as the only effective and equitable means of combating inflation.

Mitchell thinks some form of government planning is now essential. “I would be run out of Congress if at the beginning of every session I didn’t sit down with my staff and say here’s what we are going to do,” Mitchell said. “If families didn’t do any planning, the divorce rate would skyrocket.

“But in our economic system there is never any planning. That is what we fought so hard for in the [original] Humphrey-Hawkins legislation. You can’t run an economy without planning.”

The Black Caucus members, left and center, see active government as a necessary complement to a private economic system that is incapable by itself of supplying everyone with employment and adequate food and housing. “Government has got to be the court of last resort,” Mitchell said. “When the private sector doesn’t supply housing, then we’ve got to supply it. Housing, food, education and jobs are a basic responsibility of government.”

Most Black Caucus members see a pot-

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THE BUDGET

Reagan's legal aid vendetta

By Bill Blum and Gina Lobaco

LOS ANGELES

OF ALL THE BUDGET CUTS proposed by President Ronald Reagan, the recommendation to eliminate the Legal Services Corporation (LSC) can most accurately be described as a personal vendetta. Reagan's antagonism toward the LSC dates back to his two terms as governor of California, during which he was involved in a protracted and bitter wrangle with California Rural Legal Assistance (CRLA)—the state poverty law agency that managed

The president has gone against the advice of his own transition team to settle an old score with a popular federal program.

to reverse a number of social service cuts ordered by the governor. Reagan spent four years trying to terminate CRLA funding, but the organization was completely exonerated by a commission of retired Republican judges who found then-governor Reagan's charges of misusing public funds "totally irresponsible and unfounded."

Unsuccessful then and publicly embarrassed, Reagan now wants a rematch. If he wins, millions of low-income Americans will lose legal representation on civil issues.

Up until the '60s, the services of a lawyer were simply unavailable to the vast majority of poor people. Although sever-

al large urban areas had privately sponsored programs (through local bar associations or social service organizations), the delivery of free legal care was uneven and entirely inadequate.

In 1965, the first federally funded legal services were underwritten by the ill-fated Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) as part of Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty. While legal services under the OEO effectively reached millions, the program later fell victim to partisan politics during the Nixon administration, which froze budgets and seriously restricted the ability of legal services attorneys to represent poor clients on a full range of issues. Much of the damage was engineered by Howard Phillips, late of the Conservative Caucus, whom Nixon appointed OEO chief.

During the 1970s, a major legislative effort was initiated to remove legal services from the executive branch and thus insulate legal assistance from political pressures. In 1974 Congress chartered the Legal Services Corporation as an independent, non-profit agency to distribute funds to locally controlled, community-based programs that provided direct representation to eligible clients.

Today, more than 6,000 attorneys work in local legal aid programs for 320 regional non-profit agencies in all 50 states, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Micronesia and the District of Columbia. From an annual budget of \$320 million, the LSC spends less than 3 percent on administrative costs, making it one of the most efficient of federal endeavors. The starting salary of a legal services lawyer averages about \$15,000—well below the comparable rate in private law firms.

At the local level more than 1,300 neighborhood programs fulfill the LSC's "minimum access" goal of two attorneys per 10,000 poor people. Last year alone, more than 1.5 million clients were served nationwide. But even operating at that level, legal representation for the poor remains far below the national average of 14 lawyers per 10,000 inhabitants.

But its apparent "cost-effectiveness" has not shielded LSC from the enmity of the New Right. Last September, Howard Phillips formed the "National Defeat Legal Services Committee," though at the time he lacked the congressional support to immediately eliminate the program.

Reagan's recent announcement could not have pleased Phillips more. Even the president's own transition team report had recommended maintaining current budget levels for the LSC. The administration's motives in disregarding this advice were made clear recently when OMB budget director David Stockman

lays in the administration of social programs. In addition, pursuing one case on behalf of several different clients is itself a cost benefit. Nevertheless, criticism aimed at LSC's "major litigation" begs the question: Less than .2 percent of all legal services activities involve class-action suits.

The bulk of LSC case work falls in the areas of landlord-tenant disputes, domestic relations, welfare benefits and consumer fraud, and involves only individual clients. A typical Legal Services client is a single mother with pre-school children who receives Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). More than a fifth of the clientele are working poor—in Los Angeles, for example, income eligibility for a family of four is set at \$645 a month.

Count out the private sector.

In keeping with his other economic views, Reagan favors turning over the problem of legal representation for the poor to the private bar. Programs such as "judi-



The bulk of legal services casework involves the problems of individual clients.

was asked if the decision was budgetary or ideological. He replied that it was both.

While some attack was certainly expected, Reagan's plan stunned the poverty law community. As LSC president Dan Bradley commented, "Mr. Reagan has dropped an atomic bomb on legal services for the poor."

Reagan's move may be an attempt to mollify some disgruntled far-right supporters. His Southwestern agribusiness constituency certainly would be pleased to see CRLA finally stop its activities on behalf of California's rural and migrant poor. And throughout its history, the LSC has been filing numerous class-action lawsuits against business and all levels of government. It is these suits and other efforts to secure major legal reforms that have especially enraged conservatives.

Phillips has inaccurately characterized legal services as defending sodomites and transsexuals, organizing prison unions, "employing avowed Marxists, like Staughton Lynd" and "lobbying for new laws...that will further socialize America." Joining in the chorus, the conservative Heritage Foundation, in its theoretical study, *Mandate for Change*, accused the LSC of "social engineering" through its class-action lawsuits.

These charges are not new. They have fueled past attacks by conservatives on LSC appropriations that succeeded in attaching a host of restrictions on program activities as a condition of continued funding. For example, LSC attorneys are now strictly prohibited from representing clients on issues involving unionization, abortion or integration; and the 1978 Moorehead Amendment to the Legal Services Act forbids lobbying by LSC employees on any pending legislation.

But even with these restrictions LSC has continued to provide aggressive legal representation for the poor. And contrary to the views of Phillips *et al.*, many class-action lawsuits have actually resulted in a net benefit to governmental agencies by challenging bureaucratic de-

care"—analogous to Medicare—have been tried on a limited basis in some states, as have other *pro-bono publico* or voluntary efforts by local bar groups. But according to American Bar Association president William Reece Smith, "It soon became evident that only a small portion of the civil legal needs of the poor could ever be met by this voluntary approach. Without a federal program, the doors of justice remained shut to millions of our nation's neediest citizens."

The ABA has put its support squarely behind the LSC, as have numerous local bar groups, with Smith himself calling Reagan's decision "unsound, unwise and not in the nation's best interest." A number of leading jurists and elected officials—notably Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.)—have also assailed the president's decision and vowed to oppose him. Moreover, editorials across the country, including those run by the *New York Times*, *Washington Post* and *Los Angeles Times*, have strongly supported continuing the present program.

In addition, a number of large and diverse non-legal organizations have thrown their support behind Legal Services—the American Association of Retired Persons, National Council of Churches, NAACP, AFL-CIO, UAW, Mental Health Association, National Urban League and the League of Women Voters to name but a few.

The LSC will have to rely on these friends to argue its case, since the Moorehead Amendment prohibits it from lobbying on its own behalf. Thanks to Phillips' early efforts, Reagan has received 30,000 anti-LSC letters thus far and only 200 in favor of the program.

And it is clear that Reagan wants to take his LSC grudge-match to the mat: The House is scheduled to begin deliberations on his proposal this month. If Reagan wins, some legal aid programs will begin to close their doors as early as this summer.

Bill Blum is a Los Angeles attorney. Gina Lobaco writes frequently from Southern California.

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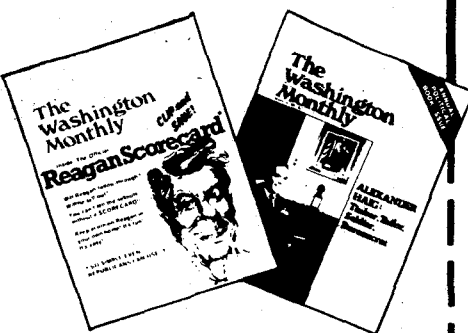
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FRANCE



Jacques Chirac has conducted a lively and unorthodox campaign, but has no chance of winning.

Left may fail to defeat itself

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

IN TWO-ROUND BALLOTING APRIL 26 and May 10, French voters will elect a president for the first time in seven years. The current campaign seems to have been going on at least that long. Candidates are pale from media overexposure, issues have faded. In the absence of convincing content, spectators tend to turn their attention to form, evaluating the skill of the techniques they see being used to hoodwink them. Still, despite skepticism, voters will probably turn out and if they should elect Francois Mitterrand, which seems quite possible, the change could halt Europe's rapid drift to the right, recently accelerated by the election of Ronald Reagan.

Voters will have four major candidates and a half dozen minor ones to choose from on April 26. They will then decide between the two front runners—

If Giscard wins a second seven-year term, he will hang on to the current legislature until its term runs out in 1983.

The big four.

A symmetrical line-up for the first round pits two major candidates against each other for right-wing votes, and two for left-wing votes. On the right, the main event of the campaign has been the success of Paris mayor Jacques Chirac, who entered the race late and far behind and has been gaining steadily. As behooves an incumbent, Giscard is running mainly on the basis of his international experience and pats on the head from both Washington and Moscow. But polls show that people's number one worry is constantly worsening unemployment. Everyone is bored with Giscard's elocution master style, and his air of complacent new rich phony aristocrat is increasingly irritating to people whose own fortunes are failing.

Giscard is the darling of big finance and the multinationals, but Chirac ap-

sive revision of the criminal law code. Such unpredictable dashes of conviction beyond ready-made patterns add to his aura of leadership. Chirac may even draw votes away from Mitterrand.

Georges Marchais.

On the left, the suspense has been over how low Communist Party (PCF) candidate Georges Marchais would stoop. Mitterrand, in contrast, continues to take the high road—too high, often drifting off in literary monologues bespeaking a rich inner life almost impervious to the world outside.

Blatant demagoguery is the PCF's solution to its big problem: the economic crisis is relentlessly thinning the ranks of its traditional base in the organized industrial working class. The party's power base in "red" town halls and in the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), whose control of certain social funds sustains a network of PCF-controlled cultural, service and even industrial enterprises, is threatened by social changes. Loud but fruitless agitation by the CGT is less and less able to mask the party's inability to stop the erosion of its working-class base.

Instead of facing this problem openly, the PCF maintains its triumphalistic tone through one defeat after another on the industrial labor front, while fishing for votes to the right of its usual constituency by playing on moralistic and nationalistic themes, and to the left by talking about "revolution"—a word strictly banned from its discourse back in 1968 when it might have meant something to somebody. All three approaches lack credibility. In recent months, the CGT has begun to suffer setbacks in elections for union representatives—against its rivals, the Socialist CFDT and *Force Ouvriere* (FO)—in such crucial strongholds as the Renault auto plants, the nationalized railroads and Thomson electronics.

The "moralizing" campaign reached its high—or low—point when a Communist mayor led his little flock to a low-rent housing project to denounce a Moroccan worker's family for drug peddling, on the basis of nothing more serious than a statement extracted by PCF militants from an Algerian neighbor that her son had "come home sick" from visiting the Moroccans, with whom she was feuding. Such incidents have appalled and disgusted people on the left, without necessarily overcoming the anti-communism of the kind of voters who might go for such behavior.

Marchais has come up with a fairly precise program, which is more than can be said for the other candidates (the absolute in programmatic emptiness is achieved by the billboard slogans of Gis-

card—"France needs a president"—and Chirac: "The president France needs"). However, its only real use seems to be to outbid the Socialists. By now, just about everything Marchais does is taken as an effort to embarrass and defeat Mitterrand. But his platform calling for raises in the minimum wage and various welfare benefits and pensions, for low cost housing construction, bank credits to bail out failing businesses, price controls, tax reform, the 35-hour work week, lowering of retirement age and a fifth week of paid vacation, may be designed to bring the PCF good results in legislative elections in case of a Mitterrand victory. The PCF could then try to bargain for the cabinet posts it insists it will demand from a Socialist president.

Strange as this may seem in view of its recent repellent behavior, the PCF may still be hoping to get into a Mitterrand government. Except for his approval of the invasion of Afghanistan (which fit in with working-class French attitudes toward a "backward, feudal" society), Marchais has not been as unconditionally pro-Soviet as it may seem. He has called a Soviet intervention in Poland "unthinkable," which is unfortunately not the view being expressed these days by Soviet officials themselves.

The PCF has gone so far as to expel champions of left unity like Guy Bois, one of the instigators of the "unity in struggle" movements attempting to bring the PCF and PS back together, and threatened not to endorse Mitterrand on the second round. It is now widely taken for granted that Marchais is out to assure Giscard's re-election. But as the campaign enters its final weeks, Marchais has taken to rediscovering the virtues of left unity—assuming he gets enough votes on the first ballot to put him in a strong position to "defend workers' interests" in a left coalition.

Surveys show the public considers Marchais the "most amusing" candidate. But especially against a background of Warsaw Pact threats to Polish workers, "Jojo's" sinister clowning and the PCF leadership's brutal imposition of its line on its own rank and file have aroused an anti-communism unlikely to vanish overnight.

Francois Mitterrand.

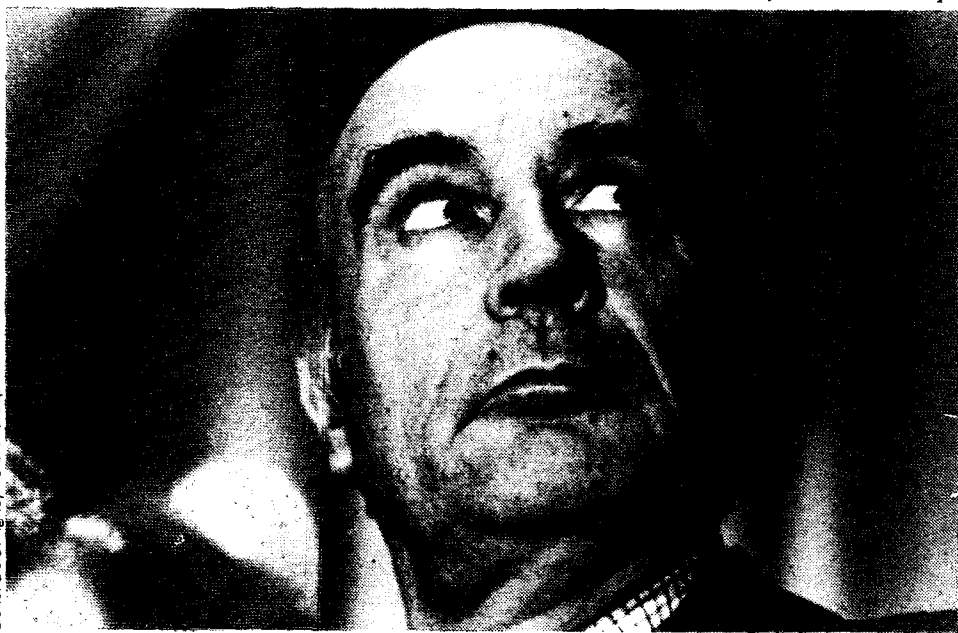
Marchais' crude attacks have inevitably strengthened the anti-communist right within the PS itself. As Marchais predict-

Mitterrand's election would halt Europe's rapid drift to the right.

ed, Mitterrand has drifted to the right, but he has appeared to be pushed in that direction by Marchais himself, and many left voters tend to put the principal blame on the PCF. Thus Mitterrand has been able to wage a vague moderate campaign designed to win over professional and business people who would like to halt the concentration of Giscardian power by a change in personnel without great change in policy. The endorsement of elder statesman Pierre Mendes-France, considered a realistic economist in such circles, carries weight. Mitterrand's proposals to create jobs by raising domestic purchasing power are mild and hedged by conditions. He would favor a 35-hour work week, but only as negotiated in decentralized, branch by branch bargaining in accord with productivity. He has taken as a close advisor European Commissioner Claude Cheysson, who proposes to base a European economic revival on a development of third world (notably African) markets, thanks to injection of petrodollar surpluses. Cheysson says it is "unacceptable for the Americans to block this sort of progress on the pretext of centering economic revival on their own markets." This is the outlook of the Brandt Commission report.

The Socialist Party is going for broke. The PS lacks the solid economic base (labor unions, cooperatives, etc.) of socialist

Continued on page 22



Francois Mitterrand may win the April 26 election despite the break-up of the Socialist-Communist alliance and attacks by George Marchais.

almost certainly incumbent president Valery Giscard d'Estaing and Mitterrand—in the May 10 runoff. If Mitterrand wins, he has promised to dissolve the national assembly and call legislative elections likely to produce the left majority that failed to materialize three years ago after the Socialist-Communist alliance fell apart. Given the soured relations between the left parties, but their probable agreement on many issues, a Mitterrand presidency would probably have to rely on fluctuating majorities. This would give the legislature an importance it has not had since De Gaulle founded the Fifth Republic to strengthen the presidency 23 years ago.

peals to the small and medium-sized businessmen who feel neglected by Giscardian restructuring. Chirac has proposed to dip into French banks' "extraordinary" surplus profits to extend low-interest credit to small and medium firms. With no real hope of winning, Chirac entered the race to retain the "Gaullist" trademark (leadership of the main remnants of the clan that rode to power on the General's coattails) and assure his political future. His decisive style has gone over well both on television and in meetings. Usually classed "to the right" of Giscard, Chirac has come out against the death penalty and voted against justice minister Alain Peyrefitte's oppres-

Byrne

Continued from page 3

ty, that could help to knock Byrne out of power just as it helped to elevate her. But in trying to play to blacks and whites at various times without forging a consistent program, she may lose both. Meanwhile she has increased her bid for the large but inactive bloc of Latinos, who could counterbalance black influence somewhat.

Crashing around City Hall.

The racial and ethnic blocs are not the only rapidly shifting forces in Chicago politics that have been even further loosened by the Byrne administration. The Democratic Party has been rent by factionalism, though the factions shift from month to month. The one consistent opponent Byrne fears and fights is Richard M. Daley, the ex-mayor's son, who beat Byrne's candidate (a fellow she earlier denounced as part of the "evil cabal" running city government) in the 1980 Democratic primary race for state's attorney.

Byrne's greatest accomplishment, even her critics acknowledge, is opening up city government, giving more forces a chance to influence events. Much of the opening up may be inadvertent, a result of trends already undermining the machine or a side effect of Byrne's struggle for power. "Her ineptitude politically, her crashing around, banging this group, offending that group is doing as much to break up the machine as if I'd been in there trying to undo patronage," Rose argues. "She's destroying the monster, but she doesn't have the political skill to rebuild it."

But nobody is going to stop her from trying. Her first step was to abandon her cooperation with liberals in favor of selected old "professionals" from the machine. She set aside her campaign program of fighting for city workers who wanted union contracts, disaffected neighborhood ethnics and blacks in need of public services in favor of cooperation with the downtown business interests she had criticized. Byrne "could get elected with the base she had, but she couldn't govern with it," argues Paul McGrath, a liberal political advisor to Byrne who briefly served in her administration. In order to consolidate her position and to govern, he says, she had to "reach an accommodation with power."

Business establishment figures who earlier winced at Byrne's instability now look more favorably on her. She straightened out a messy city budget, erasing deficits from a "revolving fund" that had been used to conceal cash shortfalls. She also helped to arrange banker-business control over the school system, which had plummeted into a financial crisis that bankers helped to precipitate. To improve the city's shaky fiscal state, she increased property taxes and fees (while promising to eliminate a business "head tax" on employees), cut employees and services in such crucial areas as police and sanitation, borrowed money



Steve Kagan

to ease cash flow problems (increasing the city's debt payments by a third in two years), and fought bitter battles with city workers. Byrne's policies set off three angry strikes by teachers, transit workers and firefighters, and she responded with attempted scabbing and court injunctions.

Although the tough line with public employees may have helped her standing with business, the old machine had a third pillar in addition to the pols and

firings. The chaos and uncertainty in her administration and factionalism in the party make many white-collar workers fearful. Some join the union as a result, AFSCME area director Henry Bayer says. Others just duck and hide. Public worker organizing among such "career service" employees will probably be slow until there is a formal collective bargaining framework.

When in doubt, build.

One of the keys to Mayor Daley's alliance of business and labor with the machine was construction—jobs for the trades, big profits for realtors and builders, more taxes for the city (with federal funds often greasing the wheels). The neighborhoods tended to be neglected. Also, the city's manufacturing base was ignored. During the last decade, over 200,000 jobs left Chicago, and since clerical and service jobs increased, the manufacturing loss was enormous. Besides losing the important economic multipliers of industrial activity, the city lost the kinds of jobs that ill-educated black and Latino workers might move into relatively easily.

Although Byrne has done better than her predecessors in distributing federal and city funds to the neighborhoods and initiated a capital improvements program for the outlying areas, she has continued, even accelerated, the previous city emphasis on downtown development. Many of these projects—for new office buildings, hotels or central-city residences—have been badly planned and poorly coordinated, but construction is booming. All that makes Byrne's drive to grant tax abatements for her North Loop development plan even more scandalous, since these projects are clearly quite profitable on conventional terms and the city is already clearing land for

them at bargain rates. Yet she clings to her pledge of a \$38 million tax break for a new Hilton hotel (which will simply replace another hotel the chain will close elsewhere in the Loop or downtown), even though the city is strained for cash. Public protest has so far succeeded in trimming the planned abatements and saving some historic buildings, improving on Byrne's varied and often vague plans.

Although business relocations and closings persist—such as Montgomery Ward's departure and Wisconsin Steel's shutdown—the city has been more aggressive in trying to retain and attract manufacturing by accelerating the use of industrial revenue bonds, offering technical assistance and cleared land for business expansion or establishment, setting up a revolving loan fund for small businesses, and helping to get federal grants in exchange for pledges to hire the hardcore unemployed. Charles Sklavanitas, director of the economic development commission, claims that the commission's work has retained 10,000 jobs that might have been lost and created 5,000 new ones, contributing to what he says has been an overall gain in jobs in the city over the past two years, reversing the long downward trend.

Byrne's record on housing is also a mix of concession to banking and real estate interests with a few original programs with some progressive impact. "She's done pretty well in relation to previous administrations, though not in relation to an ideal world," housing expert Alexander Polikoff says. Byrne finally settled a 14-year-old lawsuit, pursued by Polikoff, to force the city to build public housing throughout the city rather than concentrate it in black areas and thus reinforce segregation. Byrne also has used the city's bonding power to make available lower-interest mortgages (though fairly well-off Chicagoans snapped up most of that money) and at least talks about expanding low-income housing. But she has done little to help with rehabilitation of older housing, opposed a fair rent commission, reneged on promises for tighter controls on condominium conversions and done virtually nothing to deal with displacement of poor people through new developments and condo conversions.

In two years it would be hard to turn the city around in any event. The powers of the mayor are limited: private investors hold the trump card in the most serious games in town. But if Jane Byrne ever envisioned in her mind's eye leading Chicago in a new direction, her courtship of business, banking and real estate interests, her commitment to the racial status quo and her quest to pump new life into an already antiquated political machine have limited her options. Perhaps the most serious problem, however, is that she never did, and does not now, clearly have any vision at all.

The mayor's inept crashing about has helped break up the machine.

the money men—labor. The old guard of labor, centered in the building trades, continues to cherish the "handshake" arrangement with the city, even though Byrne took away some privileges of the skilled trades. They still have an entrenched position, especially when a single man can be foreman in the sanitation department, steward for the Laborers union and precinct committeeman. But other city workers have been interested in contracts, especially the police and firefighters.

Byrne buried a general collective bargaining ordinance, but she suddenly, inexplicably agreed to a police union election. But she still has not formally concluded a contract with either the fire or police union. She has continued to fight for patronage instead of planned civil service reforms and has lost numerous court cases charging her with political

\$40,000

That's what it cost to disagree with the University of Wisconsin.

Thirty-six out-of-state graduate students were fined \$40,000 for participating in last Spring's Teaching Assistants Association's strike against the University. The University contends they forfeited their out-of-state tuition remission since they failed to work enough hours. They struck as teachers, but are now fined as students. We think that's unfair. Without your donations, these graduate students will be forced out of the University.

Tell the University of Wisconsin that controversy can't be sold and disagreements fined. We cannot afford a price tag on our freedom of speech. Inquiries and donations should be directed to: Teaching Assistants Association Sustaining Fund, 306 N. Brooks, Madison, Wisconsin 53715, (608) 256-5902.

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CANADA

Once more with feeling in Quebec

By Larry Black

MONTREAL

THE PARTI QUEBECOIS GOVERNMENT scored an impressive victory in provincial elections in Quebec last Monday, surprising many who thought nationalism to be a spent force in the largely French-speaking province.

The PQ, founded in the late '60s by moderate nationalists seeking a "parliamentary" route to separate Quebec from the rest of Canada, won an even more solid majority than it did when it swept to power in 1976, increasing the number of seats it holds in the 122-member provincial legislature to 80.

The re-election victory was a surprise, coming as it did less than a year after defeat of the PQ government's referendum on "sovereignty-association"—a watered-down independence proposal that would have established Quebec as a sovereign country while maintaining a Common Market-type economic association with the other nine Canadian provinces. Though the referendum question asked only that the provincial government be given a mandate to begin negotiations with the federal government, and promised the results would be put to a second referendum, almost 60 percent of Quebec's 4.5 million voters said no to the plan.

The sovereignty-association formula proposed by the PQ is only the most recent in a long series of attempts by Francophone Canadians—dating back to the occupation of the former French colony by British soldiers 200 years ago—to find some way to insure their survival as an entity on a continent of 240 million English speakers.

After several dramatic incidents of violence in the late '60s—businesses and mailboxes in wealthy English suburbs were bombed and later a British diplomat and a liberal cabinet member were kidnapped—the anxiety over Quebec's future has now come down to a struggle of ideas between anti-nationalists on the one hand—the conservative, traditional professionals, the province's few industrialists, and federal politicians grouped around the Canadian prime minister Pierre Trudeau, who see Quebec's survival best insured by integration into English Canada and the rest of North America—and nationalists on the other—civil servants, trade unionists, members of Quebec's emerging class of young professionals and its flourishing cultural community, who argue that political separation of the province is the only way to overcome the second-class status of the French language majority and the province's chronically low wages, poor health and high unemployment.

Up until six weeks ago, when PQ premier Rene Levesque finally called the long-awaited election, it was widely assumed that Quebecers had rejected the PQ's sovereignty-association route and that the pro-federalist provincial Liberal Party would be returned easily to power. The Liberals, led by former newspaper publisher Claude Ryan, had successfully polarized opinion during the referendum campaign around the economics of the independence issue, arousing fears that sovereignty would mean a return to the times before 1960 when Quebec was largely cut off from the economic and social advances elsewhere in North America. The frustration that had given rise to the election of the PQ seemed to have been defused, this time by pre-referendum promises from Trudeau and Ryan that amendments would be brought to the Canadian constitution to deal with Quebec's historic grievances. Even Levesque conceded at the time of the referendum that Quebecers seem to have decided to "give Canada yet another chance."

But the resurgence of the PQ at the polls seems again to raise the possibility that Quebec is headed, in the long term,



Rene Levesque's Parti Quebecois won by bigger margins this year than in 1976.

toward independence. "Contrary to what some people thought in 1976," Levesque told an emotionally charged rally of 10,000 supporters election night, "we are not an accident of history."

Despite nervous reminders from pro-federalist forces that the party won the election by promising *not* to hold another referendum on the independence issue during its second mandate, it was evident that most Quebec voters were aware of the PQ's continued commitment to eventual sovereignty-association. Though the party campaigned heavily on its social democratic reforms—nationalizing automobile insurance, banning the use of strikebreakers, raising taxes for the rich and protecting agricultural land from speculators, among other things—the single most popular PQ legislation was the

Charter of the French Language, a decidedly nationalist law that finally assures Francophone Quebecers access to jobs traditionally dominated by the province's still-powerful English minority.

Nor were Quebecers unaware of Ryan's ever more apparent inability to deliver on his commitments to a "renewed federalism" that would give Quebec the power to redress some of its long-standing complaints. Since last fall, when the federal government moved unilaterally to alter the balance of federal and provincial powers in the Canadian constitution, Ryan has been caught in a difficult situation: far from increasing Quebec's government powers to intervene on behalf of the French-speaking majority, the new federal plan strips the province of several key legislative powers.

Questions about the future directions of the Quebec nationalist movement suddenly seem more appropriately asked of its opponents: How long before federalists in Quebec change their strategy, and what form will it take? None of the predicted collapses of PQ support materialized election night—the party both held onto its support among working-class voters in the East End neighborhoods of Montreal and widened its support in suburban and rural areas where Francophones are in the majority. So aside from a few *independantistes* who worry about putting sovereignty-association on the back burner for three or four years, there has never been such unanimity within nationalist ranks.

Larry Black reports regularly from Montreal for *In These Times*.

Trudeau takes on provinces

By Fred Halliday

TORONTO

THERE ARE MANY PERVERSE elements in the constitutional crisis that has gripped Canada for the past few months.

The issue that set it off was the Quebec referendum of May 20, 1980: although those seeking almost complete separation from the Canadian federation were defeated (with even a 52 percent majority of French-speaking Quebecers voted against the proposal), the depth of feeling in the province was such that Premier Trudeau sought a way to assuage feelings and reform the federal system by "patriating" Canada's constitution.

Yet the new proposals have met with opposition from an estimated two-thirds of Quebec's population, as well as from eight of the 10 provinces of the country. Formally, the issue is one virtually no Canadian can oppose—ending the residual right of the British Parliament to approve changes in the Canadian constitution that has persisted since the country became independent in 1867.

The feeling against the reforms springs from two other elements that Trudeau has appended to the "patriation" proposal: a bill of rights that could override the powers of the provincial governments, and a procedure for amending the constitution, under which some western states fear they might be overruled, and leftwing force in the New Democratic Party fear their reforms could be blocked by a rightist Senate.

Trudeau now appears to be slowing down his drive to push the reforms through by July 1. He has announced that he will await a decision of the Canadian Supreme Court, and the Ottawa

The bitter debate on constitutional reform suggests "a mild form of civil war."

government has also been warned that a majority of British parliamentary members might oppose his plan because of the disagreement of the Canadian provinces.

But in the longer run there seems to be no way the conflict can be avoided, and it is striking to what extent Trudeau himself has now become the issue. His defenders portray him as the man of vision, able to bring a new pluralistic strength to Canada. His opponents see him as a dictator—even a closet communist—trying to impose a new centralizing dictatorship upon the Canadian people. His main rival on the national stage is the rather ludicrous figure of Joe Clark, leader of the Progressive Conservative Party. Clark's organization is taking an embarrassingly long time to remove someone who most Canadians regard as a buffoon, and derogatory "Joe Clark jokes" abound. But the very absence of a credible national opponent has lent additional weight to the challenge Trudeau faces from the bevy of provincial premiers now ranged against him.

To an outsider Canadians seem to do a fine line in maudlin national introspection mixed with high-sounding solemnity in political debate. As a result, as a work by TV journalist Peter Desbarats, *Canada Lost, Canada Found*, tells us "the

idea of Canada as a coherent political and economic structure has been weakened so badly in the past 20 years that it no longer exists on paper or in the minds of many Canadians. Our generation has been sustained by little more than the sheer momentum of our history." A recent article in the *Toronto Star* suggests that perhaps "Canada is now going through a mild form of civil war."

Trudeau has managed to stir up a mixed bag of provincial opposition. The fact that, if anything, the Quebecers and the westerners hate each other even more than they dislike Trudeau has not prevented them from making common cause against the premier, nor deterred NDP and PCP leaders from sharing common positions. The Quebecers reject the constitutional proposals because they fear that the new system of individual rights would give the central government the power to interfere in the province itself—presumably in favor of Quebec's Anglophone minority.

The mineral-rich provinces of the west resent any pressure for greater control from Ottawa since the 1931 constitution gives them a special control over mineral resources. The ringleader here is Alberta, known in popular journalism as "Arabia West," which produces one million barrels of oil a day for the eastern provinces. Alberta's premier Peter Lougheed, playing on historical western resentments of the once-dominant east, has now introduced a plan to cut back 180,000 barrels a day in protest against Trudeau's plans to exert greater control over the nation's oil output. Canadian oil sells at about half the OPEC price and importing more oil to make up for the Alberta cutoff would cost the Canadian government an additional \$1.5 million (Canadian) a day, on

Continued on page 22

CITY of

Japanes
the imc.



八月二七日
尾長町旧陸軍東練兵場二葉山スソ

国前寺

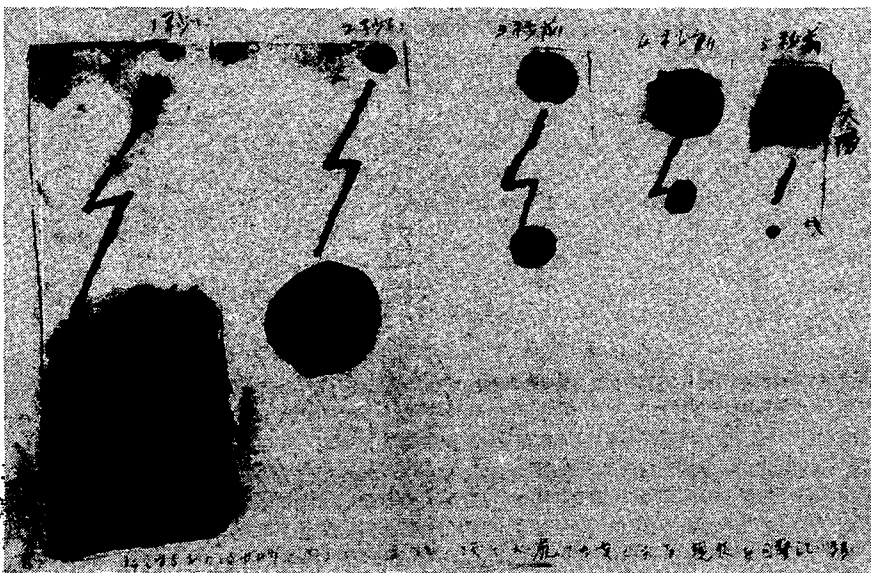
浜田義雄

五十八才

On a morning TV program in Japan six years ago, people who had survived the atomic bomb blasts were asked to send in drawings recalling that day. The station was inundated with drawings, many of them submitted on whatever was at hand—crayons or pencils, on the backs of calendars or children's scribbled papers. When the collection—a small selection from the submissions—was shown on TV and exhibited at the

Peace Culture Center in Hiroshima, viewers and visitors repeatedly urged that the pictures be displayed internationally so that the cautionary horror of Hiroshima should not be forgotten.

These are examples from a book of mor Unforgettable Fire: Pictures Drawn by Ato the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation (P: paper). Reprinted with permission of Pantl House, Inc. ©1977 by Japan Broadcasting



Tsutomu Ojiri, age 36

(Top row of circles represents the sun compared to growing size of fireball in bottom row.)

I saw the explosion in Hatsukaichi about 10 miles away when I was five years old. This is the way I remembered the explosion in the five seconds before the sound reached me. (from right to left) One second before, two seconds, three seconds, four seconds, five seconds. I imagine others saw the same scene from Mizujiri near the Inland Sea at Sakamachi.

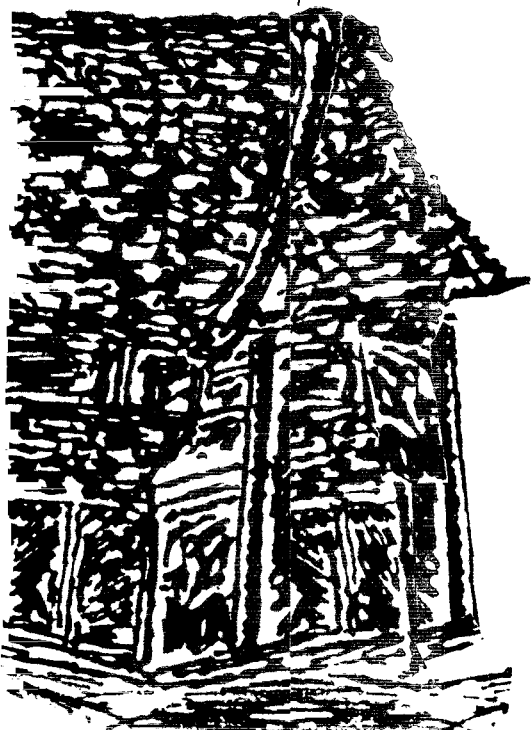


The

Yoshio Hamada, age 58

August 6 and 7

At Onago Town, former east drill field of the army, at the foot of Mt. Futaba. Kokuzen Temple.



than a hundred such drawings, *Atomic Bomb Survivors*, edited by theon, \$15.95 and \$7.95 in on Books, a division of Random Company (NHK).

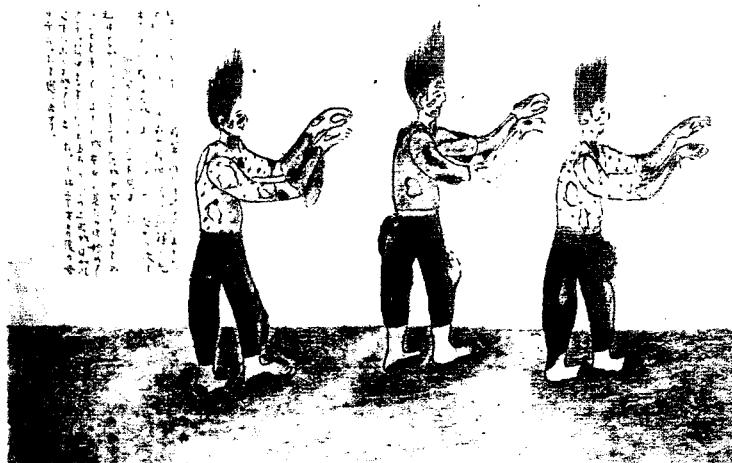


Mikia Inoue, age 72

We were on our way home. We were walking along the streetcar line at the foot of Hijiyama. Wherever we went we saw dead horses and bodies lying here and there. The remaining fires were giving off a lot of smoke. Not a soul was in sight. It was when I crossed Miyuki Bridge that I saw Professor Takenaka standing at the foot of the bridge. He was almost naked, wearing nothing but shorts, and he had a rice ball in his right hand. Beyond the streetcar line, the northern area was covered by red fire burning against the sky. Far away from the line, Ote-machi was also a sea of fire.

Asa Shigemori, age 81

I am 78 years old. I was living at Midorimachi on the day of the A-bomb blast. Around 9:00 a.m. that morning, when I looked out of my window, I saw several women coming along the street one after another. I realized for the first time, as it is sometimes said, that when people are very much frightened hair really does stand up on end. The women's hair was, in fact, standing straight up and the skin of their arms was peeled off.



Kazuo Akiyama, age 66

Most of the A-bomb survivors were burned all over their bodies. They were not only naked, but also their skin came off. Suffering from the severe pain of the burns, they were wandering around looking for their parents, husbands, wives and children in the city of Hiroshima, which had been reduced to ashes.

.....Near Kamiyacho in Hiroshima.....



Ayako Uesugi, age 77

At about 11:00 a.m. on August 6, 1945, on the road along the back of my house in Funairi-Kawaguchi-cho, there were a lot of people that looked like this.

"Help me! I can't see anything."

"Water, water! Give me some water!"

"Water! I can't see anything."

EDITORIAL

Freeing up capital for new disasters

In presenting his budget proposals, President Reagan promised that his package, taken as a whole, would reduce inflation and bring down the level of unemployment. But it is obvious from the specifics of the administration's program that it will not do either. A close look at the Reagan package makes it clear that the administration is subordinating our country's well-being to an unstated objective—the rolling back of social constraints on corporate investment decisions.

Reducing the federal deficit, Reagan claims, is a key to fighting inflation. He contends that the "hemorrhaging" of federal spending on social programs must be stopped, but he also proposes to engage in the largest peace-time military buildup in our history. The budget cuts will be greatest in the areas of social welfare, transportation and energy programs—which now comprise about 30 percent of the federal budget. Meanwhile, military spending will increase 88 percent between 1980 and 1984.

tive deficit will run another \$238 billion. These deficits do not differ greatly in magnitude from those of the Carter administration. They belie Reagan's claim that reducing the deficit is a first priority. But in themselves the deficits make little difference. As Richard DuBoff pointed out last week (*In These Times*, April 15), government deficits make up only about one-quarter of total private and public debt, and have been increasing at only half the rate of growth of Gross National Product over the past decade—which means that federal deficits of the current size have little, if any, effect on the rate of inflation.

A close look at Reagan's budget makes it clear that his real aim is to roll back social constraints on corporate investment decisions.

"will likely remain near current levels over the coming decade." This despite a recent DOE finding that the equivalent of 5.9 million barrels of oil a day could be saved through insulation and retrofitting of existing and new buildings at about half the cost of the energy now used to heat, cool and light them.

Conservation alone could greatly reduce our dependence on foreign oil, yet the Reagan budget virtually eliminates federal mandates to conserve energy. Programs setting energy-efficiency standards for appliances and new buildings and to promote home insulation are to be wound down. And the budget curtains

by working. Under Reagan's proposal a working parent would be no better off than one not working—and this has been admitted by officials in the Office of Management and Budget.

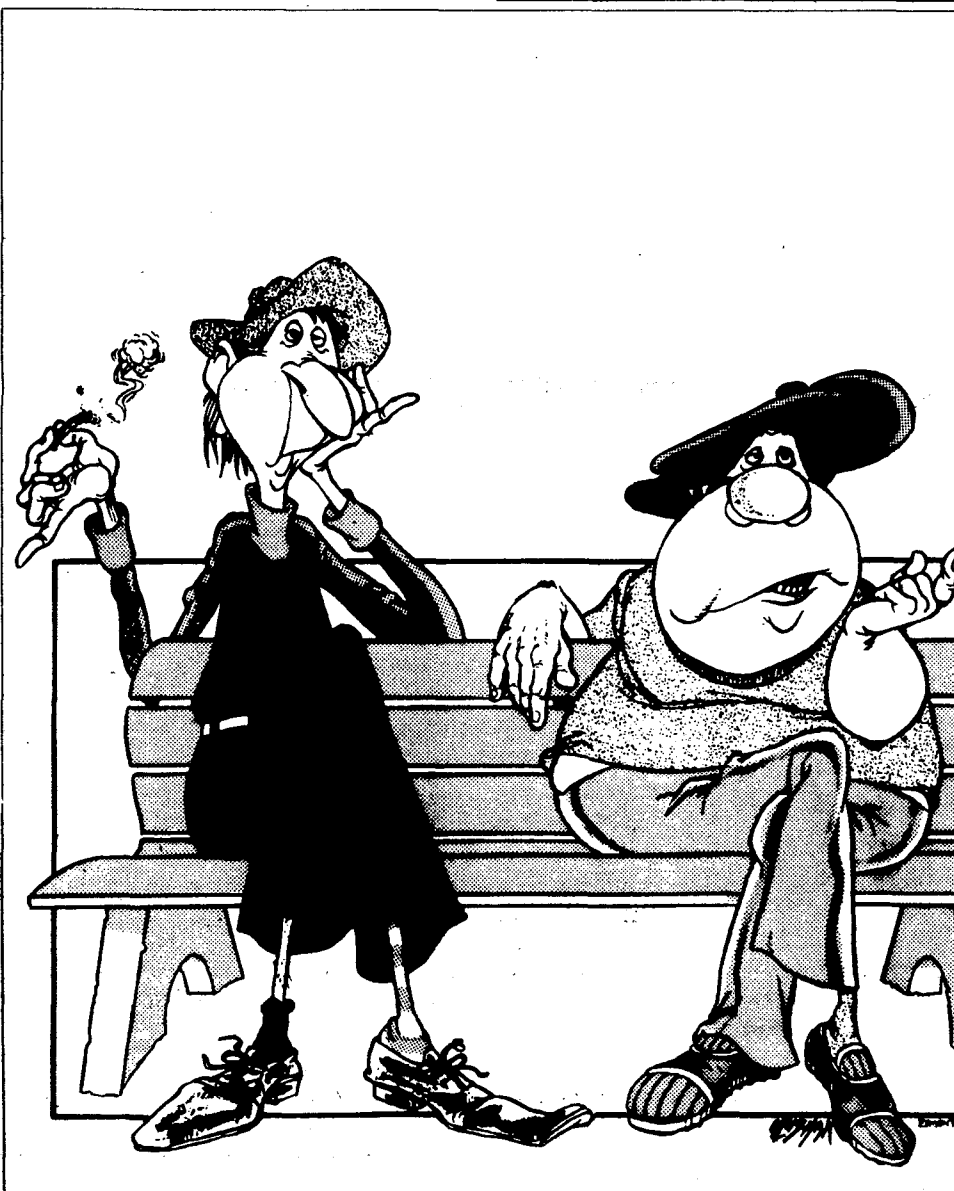
Training to make people employable is also being cut back. Federal aid to public schools is being reduced 25 percent. Matching grants for vocational education are targeted for a 30 percent cut. CETA public service jobs, all 310,000 of them, are being eliminated. These jobs, and training in general, are being handed back to private corporations through a projected system of Private Industry Councils—under which corporations will be able to train at the least expense those people who are already most nearly trained. Those most in need will be least likely to participate in the programs.

Part of Reagan's proposed spending cuts are in the area of the health and environmental regulations that have developed over the past decade and that impose a measure of social responsibility on corporate America. Earlier government regulations were designed primarily to protect market shares for corporations in various industries and amounted basically to a self-regulation of business by businessmen in government. But in the late '60s and in the '70s, growing public concern over corporate disregard for the common good led to the establishment of agencies like OSHA and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), which began to constrain corporate decision-making in the public interest. Much of the anti-regulatory fervor of the new administration is a reaction against this "creeping socialism." The ideological tool adopted by Reagan is cost-benefit analysis, under which regulations to protect working people and the environment in general are reduced to dollar calculations. Putting our social and physical well-being on a strictly monetary basis hands the game over to the corporations, of course, as they are the experts in maximizing profit.

In short, Reagan's proposed curtailment of the federal government's domestic programs, corporate taxes and social regulation is part of a plan to protect investment decisions from public constraints in the interest of corporate enterprise and in the hope that big business, which has created our social problems, will now resolve them.

But we knew all this before he was elected. The left should hardly be surprised by the Reagan program, but it should be asking what to do about it. That the Republicans are acting like Republicans is only natural. But it's also natural that the great majority of Democrats accept the framework in which Reagan has presented his proposals, thus making anything other than marginal adjustments impossible. So far the only public group that has offered a coherent and significantly different approach to the budget is the Black Congressional Caucus, and it is small and poorly organized.

The Republican budget proposals cannot be defeated piecemeal. To accept the administration's premises, as the "clever" proposals of House Ways and Means Committee chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) have done, may save a little here and there—which is all to the good—but it will make little difference in the long run. Reagan's proposals will win the day, but they are doomed to ultimate failure—a failure that may further discredit corporate rule, but only if the left takes the administration on the basis of its premises as well as on the specifics of its program.



"This country is run on faith, hope and disparity."

The effects of this reallocation of public monies will be felt most heavily by low-income workers, who will suffer directly from the cuts in Medicaid, food stamps, Aid to Families with Dependent Children and low-income energy assistance, to name a few. But nearly all Americans will be affected by cuts in aid to education, in the already woefully inadequate low-cost housing programs, in programs for alternative energy development and in funds for urban mass transit and AMTRAK, to name a few more.

Despite these cuts, the increases in military spending will make it impossible for Reagan to achieve his promised balanced budget until 1984—and the chances of meeting even this target are slight. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that Reagan's economic program will generate a \$49 billion deficit in that year, and that from 1981 to 1984 the cumula-

Aside from cutting social spending, the only anti-inflationary program put forward by the new administration is tight money. But that means high interest rates, which raise the cost of most goods and services. The Reagan monetary policy will not reduce the cost of energy or medical care and it will raise the cost of housing through higher mortgage costs and of food through higher rates on loans to farmers.

Since 1974 approximately one-half of the rise in inflation in the United States has been the result of increased oil and natural gas prices. OPEC price increases have repeatedly jolted Americans with inflationary shocks, but Reagan's policies will do nothing to reduce our dependence on oil. Recently, Department of Energy Secretary James B. Edwards told Congress that oil imports (now between five and seven million barrels a day)

support for renewable energy and the use of coal as a substitute for oil. Funding for research and development of solar technology and coal conversion is being drastically reduced, but Reagan proposes to rescue the nuclear power industry despite its tremendous cost both in dollars and in the threat to public health and safety. Turning a blind eye to the fact that the oil companies, whose profits account for one-third of all corporate profits in the United States, are rapidly gaining control of coal resources and nuclear power technology, the administration is increasing our reliance on them. The few constraints in the form of price and other regulations are on their way out. The slight encouragement of competitive forms of energy is being cut off.

Reagan claims that cutbacks in federal spending and regulation in non-military areas, along with his proposed tax cuts, will provide the wealthy with the money and the incentive to invest in new plants, thus cutting unemployment as well as reducing inflation. Meanwhile, he also argues that cuts in some forms of public assistance will encourage greedy poor people to stop living off the dole and go back to work.

But as we argued earlier (*In These Times*, Feb. 18), without social control over investment decisions the savings turned over to the wealthy are more likely to be used for investments in speculation or abroad, with no concern for the loss of jobs at home. And the job-creating investments here are likely to exacerbate the uneven regional growth that now prevails, or to be secured at heavy cost to the communities in which they are made. But even if corporations could be trusted to make productive investments, the Reagan plan ignores the need to modernize the public facilities that underlie industrial development. A study by the Council of State Planning Agencies recently concluded that "at least one-half, and more likely two-thirds, of the nation's communities are unable to support modernized development until major new investments are made in basic facilities that undergird their economies." And Reagan is cutting back on what little was planned.

As for helping or encouraging people to work, the administration proposals are pure disaster. The reductions in AFDC and food stamp programs will not make it more attractive to work than to be on welfare. Under current programs an AFDC family's spendable monthly income is increased an average of \$550

STEVE MAX

The invisible hand has reappeared

I COULDN'T BELIEVE THAT I saw it. I read the line again, fully expecting that it was one of those tricks that the mind plays on us when we think that we saw something we had hoped for, only to have it vanish a moment later. This time the words remained. There it was, right on the first page of the *New York Times* business section. The *Times'* chief economics writer Leonard Silk was announcing to the world that the American economy is controlled by an "invisible hand." So it has come to that! Witchcraft is the new explanation of how our economy works. Well, almost witchcraft. Mr. Silk was not exactly talking about the kind of invisible hand that goes bump in the night, nor was he referring to the same invisible hand of which Adam Smith wrote back in 1776. Smith's invisible hand was attached at the elbow to the long-departed free market, and through its operation, myriads of individual decisions guided by the law of supply and demand supposedly made capitalism work for the good of just about everybody.

Leonard Silk's invisible hand is something like Smith's, but with the optimism gone out. "For it is the hand of history," he says, "the drives and conflicts among



nations and cultures, the clash of oil exporting and oil importing countries, the decisions of democrats and dictators in far flung places, the aspirations and actions of businesses acting both through the market and the political process.... Whether the invisible hand is benign or malign, it remains more powerful than government in a predominantly capitalist economy."

With that prosaic statement, six decades of bourgeois economics go out the window. Gone is the theory of government as the great balance wheel of the economy, as Lord Keynes envisioned it in 1936. Gone is the "demand side" economics of the New Deal, and if it is the invisible hand and not government that predominates, then gone too is the supply-side economics of Kemp and Stock-

man. None of that matters anymore, Silk implies; in fact, "politicians and economists alike suffer from a certain hubris in presuming that by making the 'right' decisions they can control that invisible hand."

The pity is that Silk and the *Times* go about two-thirds of the way toward a really useful analysis and then stop. Still, it is high time that someone "official" admitted that the economy can't be controlled, or at least that no one in power has any idea how to do that, and it is a fine thing to have it clearly stated that our economic troubles are not acts of God—or that they aren't natural, if you prefer to think of it that way. No, an invisible hand clearly implies causality. But just whose hand is it? If only the *Times* had told us that. Of course, the *Times* is keeping with the tradition of American economics in which it is all right to blame so-

How then do we help to uncover the mysterious identity of the invisible hand that controls our economy? One way that is always useful is to cut through some of the economic terms that usually obscure matters. For example, instead of asking what causes inflation, let's remember that inflation is really rising prices, and let us ask who is raising the prices? Instead of asking what is responsible for unemployment, we should recall that unemployment means people getting fired or laid off. Let's ask who fires them? Instead of analyzing the flow of capital out of the country, let's call it American factories setting up shop overseas and ask who gives the orders. Instead of discussing economic stagnation, let's call it people not having the money to buy things, and let's ask who pays the wages. Instead of talking about reindustrialization, let's call it higher profits and ask

Instead of asking what causes inflation, let's remember that inflation is really rising prices—and let us ask who is raising prices.

meone, as long as the person you name isn't your advertiser, your sponsor, boss, benefactor, campaign contributor or the endower of your chair.

That is why labor and the poor get blamed for just about everything and multinationals are seldom mentioned. Saying that the invisible hand is history, everyone and everything is safely within the rules.

who gets the profits and where they come from. Perhaps in this way we can see more clearly the corporate muscle which flexes the invisible hand.

We owe Leonard Silk a debt for speaking more openly and honestly than other mainstream economists about the uselessness of the accepted theories of his profession. We should also appreciate his candid comment, a week before the last election, that neither Reagan nor Carter "can triumph over the invisible hand that holds the American economy in its grip today."

Ronald Reagan is already having problems delivering on his economic promises, and no doubt as he becomes more deeply mired, the invisible hand will be used as a convenient scapegoat. "The hand made me do it," he will say.

There is another great mysterious hand in history with which Reagan may also have to contend: The hand that wrote on the wall of King Belshazzar of Babylon. He ruled Jerusalem, which his father had conquered. The King was living high with complete disregard for the people when the hand appeared and on the wall wrote four words that no one could understand. At length the prophet Daniel was summoned and this was the interpretation he gave: (1) God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it. (2) Thou art weighed in the balances and art found wanting. The reign of Belshazzar ended that very night. Does Leonard Silk's invisible hand write on walls?

Silk says more than he knows when he concludes, "...we cling to the hope that we can understand and shape the forces of history to serve human welfare." Perhaps it is even possible that he knows more than he says.

This is the first of a new monthly column by Steve Max, curriculum director of the Midwest Academy.

LOUIS MENASHE

The United Soviet Fruit Company

SO NOW THE SOVIET UNION has a "hit list" for Central America. Moscow, Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. assured a House panel recently, is engaged in a "four phased operation"—first Nicaragua, next El Salvador, then Honduras and Guatemala—"for the ultimate takeover of Central America."

Is Secretary Haig getting away carried by his well-known linguistic gifts? Or are his words contexted in deep and stubborn patterns of thought? The latter, I fear. His statements reveal a way of thinking common in Washington a quarter of a century ago. (Perhaps we should now begin speaking of that epoch as Cold War I.) Devil theories are again explaining geopolitical shifts and the tides of social change. Who is behind all the dangerous watchpots of the world?

Old Nikolai in the Kremlin, spinning away merrily his web of global "operations."

Once again, as President Truman and Secretary of State Acheson did at the start of Cold War I, President Reagan and Secretary Haig are trying to "scare hell out of the American people" by invoking diabolic peril.

But surely the devil works in mysterious ways.

Consider what is plain as daylight to ordinary tourists as well as scholarly observers: The Soviet Union is undergoing an enormous internal crisis compounded by external complications. Infant mortality is rising; birth rates are declining; there is a shortage of labor; alcoholism is a national disorder; morale among the intelligentsia is at a low point; shortfalls in agriculture and consumer goods production mock the planned

economy; the very talented are expelled or emigrate.

Externally: Over 80,000 Soviet troops are fighting insurgents in Afghanistan; Soviet presences in Egypt and Somalia have been eliminated (peacefully); Poland has generated the most disruptive force in the entire Soviet bloc since de-Stalinization; the Chinese menace is enough to keep a million Soviet soldiers on Eastern frontiers; NATO is rearming; projects for MXs and B-1s are now alive and well; and just to show there is real hair on the chest of the State department, Ambassador Dobrynin is denied his special access elevator.

Now what is Old Nikolai's reaction to all of these discomforts? *Seize Central America!*

Why? To alleviate the chronic coffee shortage experienced by Moscow consumers? To be in a better position to capture Mexico, Texas and other oil-rich dominoes in order to stave off the anticipated Soviet energy crisis? To bestow colonies on the Cubans so they won't burden the Soviet economy? To prove to Secretary Haig that everything he says about Moscow is true? Secretary Haig: With this kind of nonsense must we up put?

Louis Menashe teaches at the Polytechnic Institute of New York and contributes regularly to In These Times on Soviet affairs.

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LABOR HISTORY



Women textile workers on strike in Greensboro, N.C., in 1934.

With more women working, unions are taking a new look

By Barbara Mayer Wertheimer

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY more than half of all American women work outside the home, and for these women, inside or out of labor unions, a struggle is going on for space in what still is a man's world. This struggle was defined by A. Phillip Randolph: "At the banquet table of nature there are no reserved seats. You get what you can take. To do that, you need power."

When women won the vote in 1920 neither economic nor political power were redistributed. The vote came during World War I when women had moved into heavy industry and had taken over food production on the nation's farms. They had made a contribution that could not be denied. At the same time, women's role in the home continued to shift from domestic production to maintenance. Household appliances deskilled her work, reduced her status, and freed her for jobs in burgeoning offices, department stores and services.

The need for income brought women to the workplace, who then became special victims of the Great Depression of the '30s. Government employment and recovery programs included few of the 3.5 million unemployed women. Many young women left home to avoid burdening their families; thousands slept in railroad and subway stations; many resorted to tenement homework as they sought any way at all to earn money.

The organization of industrial unions into the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) included women and minority workers for the first time on a large scale. Between 1933 and 1938, union membership rose from three to eight million. Thousands of workers sat in, taking over factories to win union recognition. Women were part of that struggle in garment plants, Pennsylvania coal towns, five-and-dime stores in New York, drug stores in Detroit, pecan farms in Texas. Women earned their union spurs on an equal footing with men.

World War II turned out to be a watershed for workforce women. Women's

employment rose from 14 million to 20.6 million at the height of the war. One and a half million black women held factory jobs, many of them for the first time. Married women made up a high proportion of the workforce, also for the first time. Following the war, while some women were laid off and left the workforce for homemaking, most did not. Displaced from higher-paying war industry jobs, thousands took lower-paying jobs in offices, stores, restaurants and in household work. By 1950, almost as many women once again were in the workforce as at the height of the war. And the participation of women in the labor force continued to grow.

Why do women work?

Why do 52 percent of all adult women now work? Women work for the same reasons that men do. They support or help to support their families. More than three-fourths of all employed women either support themselves and their families or are married to men who earn less than \$15,000 a year. Women are 75 percent of all Americans living in poverty, and head 49 percent of all poor families. And where they do not head families, the sharp inflation of the '70s has frequently made a second income essential.

Demographic factors also contribute. In 1920, women's life expectancy was 48 years; today it is 76 years or more. Thus they can expect at least 25 years of work-life after their last child is born. In addition, workers seek, often at great personal sacrifice, to educate their children, and the rising cost of education puts additional pressures on women. Finally, as the American workforce shifted from blue collar to white, millions of jobs opened up in traditional fields of women's work: health care, education, sales, restaurant and food service, recreation, and office work. But increased job opportunities have not brought an increase in women's earnings relative to men's. They average 59 cents for every dollar that a man earns. The wage gap exists even where women work in the same occupation, because they tend still to hold the least skilled, lowest paying jobs in every category.

The Civil Rights Movement of the '50s and '60s turned the nation's attention to social inequities. Heroic group pressure finally forced civil rights legislation, including the Equal Pay Act and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, to deal with inequity in employment and pay. For the first time, the law included a ban on discrimination in employment based on sex.

In the midst of the tumultuous '60s the women's movement was reborn. When the National Organization of Women was founded in 1966 it was primarily a middle-class organization. It had little appeal to working-class women, who shied away from the NOW marches and demonstrations.

But both the women's movement and working women have changed so that today union and other working women join with NOW in political and legislative efforts for the Equal Rights Amendment to enforce laws banning sex discrimination, and sexual harassment and to pass laws to obtain a federally funded child care program and paid maternity leave, equal

Clerical work is one of the new frontiers for labor.



pay for equal work, and for flexible hours and equitable social security.

Women in the labor movement.

Within the last decade the number of women in labor unions or employee associations increased from 5.4 million to 6.9 million. It is no surprise that the fastest growing unions are in occupations with a heavy preponderance of women workers: health care, government employment and teaching. Still, in spite of the increase in the number of women in unions, only 15 percent of all women workers are organized. Nor has this rise in membership kept up with the number of women coming into the labor market.

Women join unions, as men do, because they are the only institution through which workers can challenge authority on a systematic, day-to-day basis. The alternative is to be virtually powerless at the workplace. While women on the average earn only 59 cents for every dollar men earn, union women earn 73 cents for every dollar union men earn. The dollar value of unions to women has been calculated to average \$2,000 a year.

Few women outside of unions have pension plans where they work, but medical coverage, maternity and sick leave and other fringe benefits such as paid vacations and holidays often are better under a union agreement. Grievance procedure, the right to take up complaints including those centering on sexual harassment and race and sex discrimination, are workplace rights under most contracts. Many unions offer services such as counseling, legal aid, summer camps for children, negotiated tuition refund programs and credit unions that provide a support system particularly utilized by women heads of families. Union conferences, education programs and committees where women participate provide not only a social but a creative outlet for abilities often stifled in the routine jobs that many women hold. It is not hard to understand, then, why women rank as the most loyal union members; for many the union is a home away from home.

Women in union leadership.

The '70s was a decade of mobilization, a time of support groups, women's caucuses and workplace organizing committees. Several international unions set up women's departments. Thanks in part to the women's movement, workforce women read about themselves in the press and saw more sensible portrayals of women on television and in films.

In the early '70s the country's attention was riveted on a major and lengthy strike of Mexican-American workers in the Southwest, most of them women, against the Farah Pants Company. A nationwide boycott in support of these strikers became an important element in their ultimate victory, and united unionists, students, church and women's groups, minority group organizations, and many political leaders in "La Causa."

In the '70s, too, films documenting the lives of working-class women began to win awards: *Harlan County, With Babies and Banners*, Norma Rae. Law suits, initiated by women, minorities and unions on behalf of both, turned into victories in the equal employment field, opening non-traditional and managerial positions to women and bringing back-pay awards and out-of-court settlements requiring company affirmative action programs. Unions, now responsible under Title VII alone with management for acts of discrimination, began to train stewards to take up grievances on sex and race discrimination, and to negotiate contracts that spelled out clearly a non-discrimination policy.

But union leadership remains largely a white male bastion. There are many reasons for this. First there are social barriers such as family responsibilities, fear of traveling at night, inability to find child care, husbands who don't want wives to participate. Second are job-related barriers, for example, the fact that active union women find supervisors harder on them than on active union men. And third, there is the lack of union leadership training for women.

Recently, power has come to union

women in a form uniquely their own, an organization that in six short years has had an impact far in excess of its small numbers, and whose president, Joyce D. Miller, has become the first woman to sit on the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) was founded in 1974 by women who felt that for too long they had been functioning purely in support roles in their unions and that the time had come to win some power in the labor movement.

CLUW united women from independent unions and AFL-CIO unions and employee associations to work across all jurisdictional lines for four major goals: affirmative action in the workplace and in the union; support for organizing the unorganized, particularly women; achieving the legislative and political goals of women workers, including getting more women elected to political office at all levels; and increasing the participation of women in their unions and associations.

Through a growing number of chapters around the country, rank-and-file union women have established a structure that provides them with the chance to learn first-hand how union politics work. They get practice in running for office, public speaking, in organizing and chairing committees, leading demonstrations and taking the responsibility for building CLUW chapters. It is, therefore, no surprise that CLUW women have been moving into local leadership and staff jobs.

As women take on new responsibilities and compete against men for union office, their power is recognized. Union leaders now find it essential to include women at conferences, state conventions and on international union executive boards. When women are not there it now is an embarrassment to the leadership. Union women are outspoken, assertive, knowledgeable of their rights. They will be denied no longer.

Black and white together.

A well known union song has a verse that begins, "Black and white together, we shall not be moved." In recent years,

Office and service workers can provide the basis for renewed union growth.

black and white women have moved closer together. The wage gap between white women and black women has almost disappeared, but both groups have experienced a widening gap between their average earnings and those of men. Increasing numbers of minority women have moved into office and other white-collar jobs. In 1965, 60 percent of black women were in the same occupational categories as white women; in 1977, 79 percent were. A higher percentage of black women than white now belong to labor unions and employee associations: 24 percent of black women workers compared to 15 percent of white women.

Increasingly black women who have achieved positions of influence and high visibility report they experienced more discrimination on their way up because of sex than race. For example, in 1970 Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.) said, "When I decided to run for Congress I knew I would encounter both anti-black and anti-female sentiment. What surprised me was the much greater virulence of the sex discrimination."

Sexual harassment on the job.

Sexual harassment on the job always has been a problem for women workers, whether slaves or free, in the home or in the factory or office. Only recently has it come into the open, freeing women to talk about harassment without shame, or feeling responsible for the harassment they endure. Whenever women workers gather this subject is discussed. It is par-



Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.) was surprised to find that the "virulence of sex discrimination" was much greater than racial opposition to her.

ticularly hard for women moving into non-traditional jobs in skilled trades or in work such as coal mining, truck driving or as dock laborers.

Several national unions have urged their locals to determine the extent of the problem, to discuss the issue at union functions, and to indicate official union disapproval of sexual harassment in any form. Stewards are encouraged to take up grievances on this issue. Model contract clauses banning harassment and joint labor-management committees to deal with the problem are two other approaches. Women's committees are forming to provide support to women grieving this issue and to sponsor education programs on the law and inform women on how to compile evidence for taking up sexual harassment grievances.

For other unions, however, having women members is fairly new, and representing women in non-traditional jobs even newer. Many of their women members are people of great courage, breaking ground for others who will come after. Support through groups such as CLUW or the growing networks of women in skilled trades and crafts is essential.

White collar workers.

At a time when factories are moving out of the country and assembly lines are being automated, office work and service jobs are the predicted growth sectors of the economy. In New York City, for example, a net job loss is projected over the coming decade, but office jobs will increase by 8 percent.

If the labor movement is to grow, it must look to the organization of the millions of workers in offices and the service occupations, who are now unorganized. Several organized groups of women office workers now exist. One of these, Nine to Five, is an organization of office workers launched in 1973. Within two years it had enough strength to seek affiliation with the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), and to establish Local 925, which has won several union elections and contracts in the Boston Area. The SEIU finances the local's organizing staff, but the local conducts its own activities without interference, calling on SEIU services as needed, for example, its legal and research departments or pension and medical plan experts.

Direct action organizing, the method used by the Coalition of Labor Union Women as well as the growing number of women office worker groups, seems the most effective way to involve members in learning-by-doing.

The leaders of these organizations have an unerring eye for publicity and use the media and the press with a sharply-honed effectiveness. For example, with the help of Jane Fonda, who has made their cause her own, the National Association of Office Workers has taken over the traditional National Secretaries' Day with the slogan "Raises, not Roses," plus widely publicized demonstrations and rallies, for the time-worn custom of flowers or candy from the boss, thus underscoring the dignity that office workers seek.

This association speaks for the grow-

ing concern over automation, which it estimates will involve at least one and a half million offices in the decade ahead. Robots and computers functioning on their own don't complain, don't organize, never need coffee breaks or maternity leaves, and never strike. Highly sophisticated methods of transmitting and storing information, using microprocessors and computers on a chip, will eliminate the need for many personal secretaries.

Resistance to office automation may be just the issue around which women office workers and the labor movement can organize the country's clerical and secretarial workforce. The labor movement takes this challenge seriously: the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO co-sponsored with CLUW in January 1980 a national organizing conference to discuss strategies. If the labor movement puts funds and staff—women organizers especially—to the task, women workers may be the major thrust in unionization in the 1980s.

But the 1980 election could have a profound, unanticipated effect on working women's groups. Just when organizing the unorganized has become the mission of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, a Republican administration pledged to extending "right to work" laws has entered office. The Republican platform repudiates the Equal Rights Amendment and supports a youth minimum wage, which impacts directly on minorities and women in low-paying jobs. In the coming years there may be a halt in enforcement of affirmative action and Title VII actions. Under the guise of protecting the family, we may see efforts to make women feel increasingly guilty if they work. Budget slashing means cuts in social services, impacting directly on women with families, the primary users of many of these services.

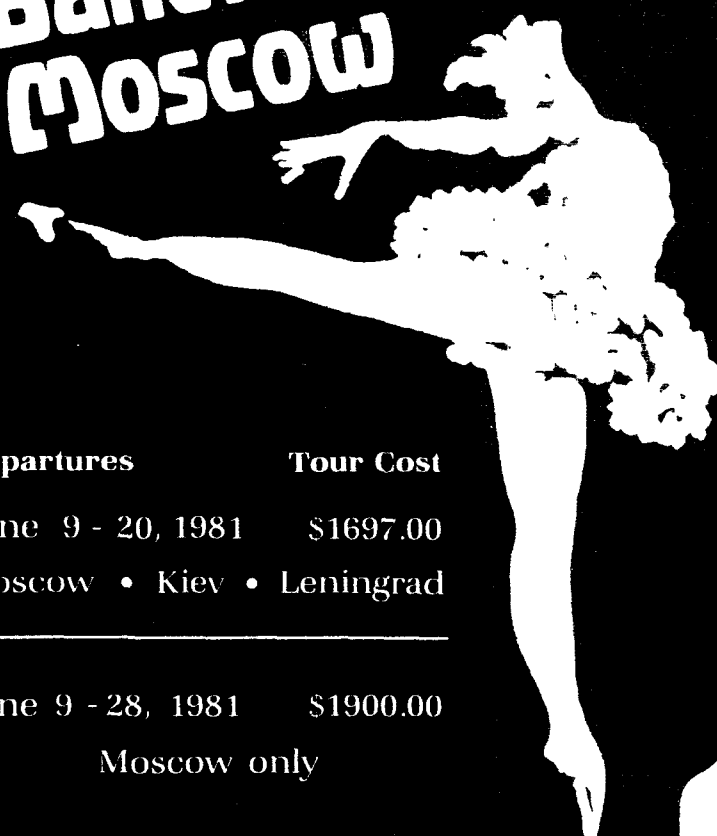
For workforce women, then, a new look at alliances is imperative. With the labor movement reexamining its political action, the opportunity for women's full participation never has been better. CLUW is growing and so is its role in readying women for leadership. The expanding organization of white-collar workers, the National Association of Office Workers, is raising women's awareness of the need for collective action. This decade may impel new alliances between women inside and those outside of the labor movement, targeting their common cause.

The answer to the 1980 swing to the right may lie in this growing understanding on the part of working women of their potential power. With new coalitions, women can come together to make use of that power, at last. As Frederick Douglass said way back in 1857, "Power concedes nothing without demand; it never did and it never will." Perhaps the decade of demand is at hand.

Barbara Mayer Wertheimer is Associate Professor at Cornell University and author of *We Were There, The Story of Working Women in America and Labor Education for Women Workers*.

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SOCIAL HISTORY

Modern bandits and neo-primitive rebels

English social historian Eric Hobsbawm has revised for a new edition (published by Pantheon) of his now-classic *Bandits*, a cross-cultural study of social banditry. Hobsbawm has added new material—for instance, an appendix on women and bandits—and also provided a commentary on criticism of his work since it first appeared in 1969. Excerpted below is part of his reply to historians who challenge—citing bandits of a later

ally most traditionalist rural parts—he is by now extinct. What happens to social banditry when the world of the Robin Hoods, the Lampiaos and the haiduks has become extinct?

The transition to a capitalist agriculture is complicated and lengthy, and since much of this agriculture continues to be conducted by family farmers who are not all that different from the old-style peasants from whom many of them are de-

therefore provided some scope—for how long is a matter of argument—for a certain “modernization” of social banditry.

It created novel targets for popular discontents (including that of capitalist farmers) and consequently new “enemies of the people” against whom bandits could champion the people. Brazilian and U.S. rural society did not share the city enthusiasm for railroads, partly because it wanted to keep out government and strangers, partly because it regarded railroad companies as exploiters. Brazilian *cangaceiros* opposed railroad construction, and Governor Crittenden of Missouri hailed the killing of Jesse James as “the relief of the state from a great hinderance to its prosperity and as likely to give an important stimulus to real estate speculation, to railroad enterprise and foreign immigration.”

However, much the most obvious of the new plagues that beset agriculturalists were banks and mortgages. Australian “selectors,” Argentinian and U.S. frontier farmers were acutely conscious of these. Ned Kelly’s bushrangers did not practice highway robbery at all, but concentrated on bank-raids. The James brothers notoriously specialized in banks and railroads. There was probably no redneck in the Southwest and few prairie farmers anywhere in times of depression who would not have regarded this as natural and just. The period that turns bank-robbery into the most readily understood form of robbing the rich marks the adaptation of social banditry to capitalism. It could only be a partial and temporary adaptation, even though the favorable image of the country or smalltown boy (and with Bonnie and Clyde, girl) as a sort of social bandit survived in the U.S. deep into the Depression.

As Richard White has pointed out, by the time the James brothers flourished, Grangerism and Populism were a more coherent response to the problems facing the rural Midwest than robbery. While the Jameses continued to enjoy the ancient reputation of Robin Hoods, a closer look shows them to be rural entrepreneurs. Like most of the Confederate guerrillas of Jackson Coun-

ty, Mo., who gave birth to the James gang, they were the elder sons of well-to-do slave-holding farmers fighting against loss of property and status.

The impact of a modern capitalist economy on a far more traditional type of banditry, that of the Sardinian highlands, has been dramatized recently by the evident transformation of shepherd-bandits into systematic kidnappers extorting enormous ransom payments. Kidnapping had until the ‘60s been rather sporadic, and for revenge as often as for ransom. The new kidnapping wave was the direct consequence of the sudden and massive economic development of that decade in the Sardinian lowlands and coastlands. It kept some of the characteristics of the ancient shepherd banditry, harsh but with its own ethical rules. But it is clear that the new technique was now increasingly a means (if not for the actual shepherd-kidnappers then for the *principales* and other highland entrepreneurs who instigated and employed them) to acquire large capital sums quickly in order themselves to invest in the now valuable coastal real estate. Banditry merged into mafia, social protest disappeared behind criminal enterprise.

Little by little, the rural bandit may even gently disentangle himself from the countryside and transfer to the city. The James gang after 1873 visited their home base in western Missouri only occasionally and discovered, as Frank James pointed out, that safety lay in anonymity rather in support from rural admirers.

Survivals.

The bandit myth survives in the modern world as a sort of folk memory injected with new life periodically by the media and the resentment of the weak. In the ‘60s and ‘70s a curious postscript to the history of traditional social banditry developed when its strategies and in some ways its ethos and ideals were transferred to a new social constituency, of small bodies of middle-class youth who formed the core of neo-revolutionary groups, found a mass resonance from time to time on the enormously swollen university campuses of these decades, and attempted to bypass the old working-class and labor movements (of whatever political color) by appealing directly to the unorganized poor and especially the alienated marginal and underclasses of society. A good deal of the new youthful, cultural and political dissidence has been described as a kind of “primitive rebellion,” notably by the French sociologist Alain Touraine. Some of it may actually have considered itself in this light.

The “Symbionese Liberation Army” (1973-74), an otherwise negligible episode on the wilder fringes of Californian alienation,

may be compared with old-style private insurgency just because it insisted so clearly on at least one public act of robbing the rich (William Randolph Hearst Jr.) in order to give to the poor (by blackmailing him into distributing food to them). It was similar to traditional social banditry not only in treating such redistribution as symbolic and in concentrating primarily on individual wrong-righting—freeing individuals from jail is currently fashionable among political strong-arm groups—but in the brevity of its career.

Traditional bandits were based on kin, neighborhood and community. The Symbionese were unattached individuals, none of whom had known or heard of each other until they met in the subcultural ghetto of the East Bay. Though most of the 11 chief members belonged to a sort of student intelligentsia, they were not united by the bonds that link contemporaries studying in the same university or faculty. They lived less in a community—except in the purely geographical sense—than in an ambience of escape from “bourgeois” values, a Latin Quarter or Montmartre, brought together by the informal shifting sociability of street, lodging, demo or party, by the common lifestyle of a bohème, by the common rhetoric of a dissident subculture that saw itself as revolutionary, and by sexual attraction—probably the strongest single factor bringing together this particular group of people.

Bandit myths are revived by the media and by the resentment of the poor.

Hence women, usually irrelevant to or disruptive of traditional bandit units, were the essential (hetero or homo) cement of this one.

Traditional primitive rebels are united by a common and inherited set of values and beliefs about society so strong as hardly to need, or to be capable of, formal articulation. But except for the vocabulary of the Declaration of Independence, which still echoes through the manifestoes of the group, these neo-primitives had no such common stock of ideas. They had to translate their personal experience of alienation into a formalized ideology, or rather rhetoric, made up of a confused selection of phrases from the revolutionary dictionary of the “new left” and Californian orientalism and psychobabble.

It was a cry of lost people against a cruel and atomized society, but it provided them only with a justification for symbolic gestures of violence, an assertion of their existence as people to whom attention should be paid through their reflection in the magnifying mirror of the media, and a legitimization for the lifestyle of the small illegal activist group that was their substitute for community and society. Illegality as free personal choice, illegal acts abstracted from social and political reality—these distinguish the traditional social bandit from his latter-day imitators.

The traditional social bandit’s actions, whether professional or



Capitalist development created new targets for social bandits like Jesse James.

era—Hobsbawm’s argument that social banditry is a product of a pre-industrial era, and slowly disappears under capitalism.

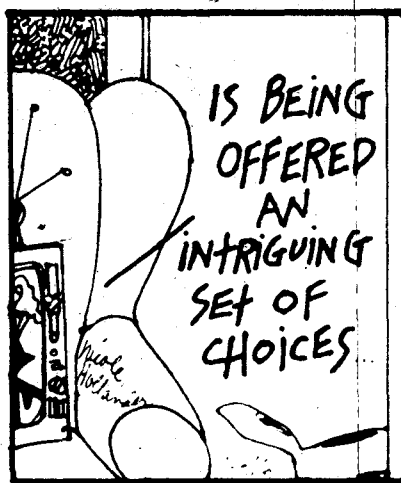
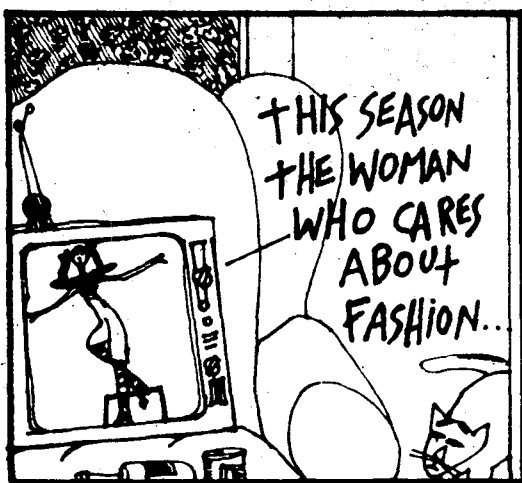
By Eric J. Hobsbawm

Robin Hood is on the way to extinction. In fact, to no one’s surprise, in most “developed” countries—even in their cultur-

scended, there is plenty of overlap—certainly culturally—between the old and new rural worlds. Moreover, the ancient hostility of country to city persists in the form of conflicts between the interest of farmers as a business group and the rest—as witness the problem of the European Economic Community. In the countryside the advance of the capitalist economy

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander





Aldo Moro's murder differs from primitive banditry because he was a symbol of the system, not an isolated target.

"political," are part of the fabric of his society. Indeed, they are so enmeshed in that fabric that they are not, in fact, revolutionaries, though they may become so in certain circumstances. Their actions may have symbolic value, but they are not directed against symbols but against specific and organic targets: not "the system" but the Sheriff of Nottingham. There are, especially among highly sophisticated and politically informed terrorist groups, occasional coups against specific victims from which specific results are expected, such as the killing of Carrero Blanco by the Basque ETA or the kidnapping and murder of Aldo Moro by the Italian Red Brigades. In such cases the very sophistication of the political calculations behind the coups remove the perpetrators far from the sphere in which social banditry, old or new, operates.

In most cases the lists of possible victims sometimes discovered in the papers of captured

neo-Robin Hoods, including the SLA, are arbitrary symbols of "the system."

Moreover, in the case of such symbolic victims, no specific political consequence is expected to follow the action other than a public assertion of the presence and power of the revolutionaries and the presence of their cause.

Myth.

There is a similarity between the old bandits and the new activists that underlines the fundamental difference in their social contexts. In both cases "the myth" is a primary object of the action. For the classical bandit it is its own reward, for the neo-bandits its value lies in the supposed propagandist consequences. Yet in both cases what we would today call "publicity" is of the essence.

Yet the nature of public existence is fundamentally changed by the appearance of the mass media. The classical bandits established their reputation by direct contact with their consti-

tuency and the grapevine of an oral society. They entered the primitive equivalent of the mass media, ballads, chap-books and the like, only once they had established it.

Today the media are overwhelmingly the dominant, perhaps the only, creators of the myth. The media-created myth may hate the drawback of built-in impermanence, being the creation of an economy geared to disposable souls as well as to disposable beer cans, but this can be offset by repeating the actions that ensure media exposure. In this respect the traditional bandit tortoise may actually beat the electric hare of his successors. Nobody ever asks "Whatever happened to Jesse James?" Many, even today, have to be reminded who Patty Hearst was.

The political image and effectiveness of neo-Robin Hoods is achieved through their success in making headlines, and their actions are planned primarily to achieve this object. Headlines may equally well be achieved by attacks on entirely neutral or uninvolved persons—athletes during the Munich Olympics of 1972 or drinkers at English pubs killed by IRA bombs.

To the extent that the actual targets of action thus become incidental and arbitrary casualties in someone else's war, the similarity between old and new "social banditry" is attenuated.

All that remains is the demonstration that groups of nameless outlaws, known only by abstract or meaningless titles or initials, are challenging the official structures of power and law.

Enduring

In some ways, classical social banditry is still alive. In the late '70s an enthusiastic and militant Mexican reader of this author's *Primitive Rebels*, whose chapter on banditry has been expanded into *Bandits*, encouraged the activists of a peasant movement in the north-east of that country to read that work. The militants of the *Campesinista Tierra y Libertad* thought, perhaps not unnaturally, that the book was hard going. They did not understand much of it, and they could

not see the point of much of what they read. But there was one part of it that made sense to them: the part about social bandits.

I mention this tribute from an unexpected and unintended public not only because it is the sort of experience that makes an author feel good, but because

Peasants in Brazil fought railways and government intrusion.



A Brazilian peasant works the fields.

IN THESE TIMES APRIL 22-28, 1981 19 the inhabitants of the Huasteca Potosina region may be regarded as a qualified, competent, and no doubt, in the past, an experience body of critics and commentators on the subject. It does not prove that the analysis put forward in *Bandits* is right. But it may give readers of the book some confidence that it is more than an exercise in antiquarianism or in academic speculation.

Robin Hood, even in his most traditional forms, still means something in today's world, to people like these Mexican peasants. There are many of them. And they should know.

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NOTEBOOK

Jump/Cut, No. 24/25, March
P.O. Box 865, Berkeley, CA
94701, 60 pp., \$2.50

This issue of the quarterly film journal has a special section, "Lesbians and Film." Included is a fascinating, well-researched article on the 1931 German film, *Maedchen in Uniform*. Author Ruby Rich describes both the lesbian themes in the film and the lesbian culture surrounding its production in Weimar Germany. **PA**

Corporate Flight: The Causes and Consequences of Economic Dislocation
By Barry Bluestone, Lawrence Baker and Bennett Harrison
Progressive Alliance, 1757 N St., NW, Washington, DC 20036, 95 pp., \$3.00

A skillfully condensed version of Bluestone and Harrison's long study of plant closings, *Corporate Flight* is a solid primer on the impact of runaway shops on communities, unions and persons. Its language is clear; its more than a dozen photographs are vivid, and its viewpoint regarding the possibilities of fighting back against

irresponsible corporate relocation is hopeful and reasoned. *Corporate Flight*, produced jointly by the Progressive Alliance and *Working Papers for a New Society*, ought to be widely read in the labor movement, citizens' coalitions and church-based social action groups, especially in the economically shivering Frostbelt. Price is sharply reduced for quantity orders. **DRR**

Women and Religion in America, Volume 1

Edited by Rosemary R. Reuther and Rosemary S. Keller
Harper and Row (San Francisco Division), 353 pp., \$14.95
Reuther, recent recipient of the Eugene V. Debs Award, and Keller have, in this first book of a projected three-volume series, produced an extraordinary documentary history of the religious activities of 19th-century women. The documents, introduced by seven essays written by the editors and other scholars in the field, cover women in revivals, utopian communities, social reform movements, Jewish con-

gregations, the pulpit, Catholic religious orders and Protestant lay groups. Each section records a pattern of significant achievement in a largely sexist, but complex, variety of religious milieux. Martha Blauvelt's perceptive essay on women's role in revivals, the documents on early religious utopias and a fine sampling of illustrations highlight this excellent collection, which would have benefitted further from a section on women and religion in the slave community. **DRR**

That Woman Must Be on Drugs

By Nicole Hollander
St. Martin's Press, 128 pp., \$3.95 paperback

Undaunted by the rise of the New Right, "pro-family" backlash and anti-woman, anti-poor Reaganomics, Sylvia keeps up a steady stream of razor-sharp comebacks to maddening trends and infuriating individuals.

Who is this funny woman? Sylvia is the 50ish, outspoken feminist star of cartoonist Nicole Hollander's syndicated strip *Sylvia*, the same flamboyant main character featured in Hollander's first two books, *I'm in Training to Be Tall and Blonde* and *Ma, Can I Be a Feminist and Still Like Men?*

Hollander has come out with her third collection of "Sylvia"

comics, *That Woman Must Be on Drugs*. As in the two other collections, Hollander aims Sylvia's deadpan wisecracks at the absurdities and true difficulties of surviving a sexist consumer culture. Hollander again lambasts some of her favorite and sure-win targets: TV, ruthless TV "journalists," the beauty industry, the state of relations between the sexes, and right-wing types. Sylvia is sick of "new breakthroughs" that support reactionary conclusions and make people feel hopeless. Whatever it is "studies now show," it looks to Sylvia like another excuse to either blame the victim or to further intimidate those who already feel damned if they do, damned if they don't: "Research finds some people's personalities make them cancer-prone." "Terrific! Now you can have cancer and guilt!"

At an ERA rally, Hollander once overheard a policeman say to a woman "I've never seen so many ugly women in my life." "I wanted that woman to say something!" Hollander said. "Then I thought about how sexism is always out there and how often we're ill-prepared to respond. So in *Sylvia* I took that remark, gave it distance, and Sylvia, ever-composed and unafraid to give offense, says, 'How come the

guys who ask that question always have bad breath?' It has the same unfair, insulting quality that the man's remark has, but one has to have confidence and detachment to make it." Humor aside, the beauty of the well-phrased retort is that it is a refusal to play victim.

No one is immune to the constant bombardment of anti-feminist messages in our culture, not even Sylvia. But, in yet another outrageous book, Sylvia continues to talk back and dare to have a good time doing it. **DZ**

You Can't Keep a Good Woman Down

By Alice Walker
Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 167 pp., \$10.95

Freedomways editor Alice Walker continues, in this collection of 14 short stories, to defy categorization. Black writer, women's writer, humorist, tragedian—she is all these and far more. Much influenced by Zora Neale Hurston, Walker brings a playfulness of both style and content to bear on the most serious of themes. Her writings on rape, pornography and abortion in this collection remind us of how imperfectly our political discourses address these challenging issues. **DRR**

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, David Roediger, Debbie Zucker

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

HUMOR

A working stiff reflects on life's tribulations

By Jonathan Stern

"From off the streets of Cleveland," as the logo reads, comes *American Splendor*, one of the most interesting comic books to appear in many years. Published and entirely written by Harvey Pekar, a 41-year-old hospital file clerk, it deals with the daily pro-

For Cleveland cartoonist Harvey Pekar the tensions of daily life are the stuff of comic book adventures.

blems of male working-class life. Pekar began publishing the book in 1976 and has put out five issues, containing more than 50 stories, illustrated by various artists, including his old buddy, Robert Crumb.

Pekar's writing comes out of several traditions, including a stream of American realist writing that can be traced from Mark Twain through George Ade and Ring Lardner. He infuses humor into even the most serious of his stories, and is an expert writer of dialog, rendering a variety of American dialects accurately in



the process of describing everyday life in Cleveland, a city with a wide variety of ethnic and racial minorities. The son of Polish-Jewish immigrants, Pekar has also been impressed with Yiddish and American Jewish storytellers and writers, including Daniel Fuchs and Henry Roth.

Pekar's comics also have non-literary roots, including the work of Italian neo-realist film directors, particularly deSica and early Fellini. Comedians of the '50s, including Bob and Ray, Lenny Bruce and Jonathan Winters, also impressed him. For Pekar's version of stand-up comedy routines, see "The Harvey Pekar Name Story" and "Ozzie Nelson's Open Letter to Crumb," (issue #2).

Pekar's stories are autobiographical. We follow him from '50s greaser and part-time grocery clerk to '60s bohemian, to working stiff. He never fits into these roles comfortably, however. For instance, in issue #1 we encounter Pekar in "Love Story" as a teenager working in his parents' grocery store. He recounts Pekar's meeting with a young black girl whom he'd known 10 years before and who had become a prostitute. Of equal importance is Pekar's horror at working in his father's store, being squeezed almost out of business by the chain stores.

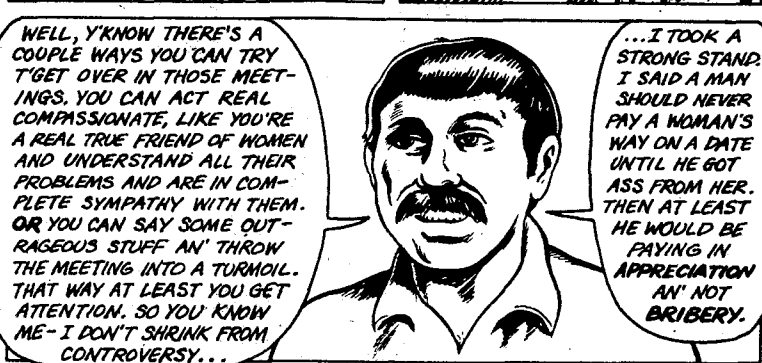
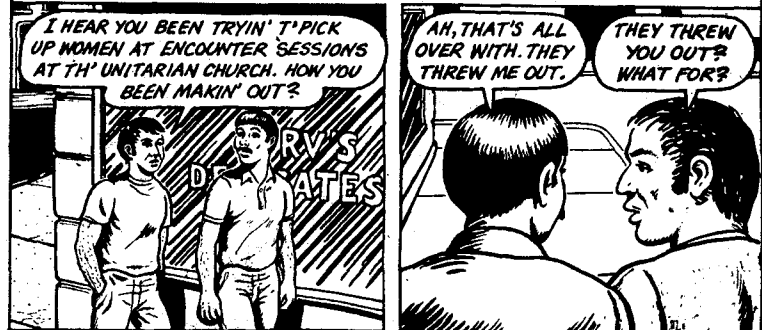
In "Awakening to the Terror of the New Day," "Awakening to the Terror of the Same Old Day" and "Short Weekend," (issue #3) he examines the problems of a man with "no chick and a lousy job." There's a long sequence in the first story about the difficulty of simply getting up and going to work on a bitterly cold winter day.

"An Argument at Work" (#4), deals with class prejudice. Herschel, a "working-class intellectual" is rejected in his attempts to go out with a nice-looking librarian because she thinks he's "low class" and goes into a rage

Traditional Male Chauvinism

STORY BY HARVEY PEKAR

ART BY GREG BUDGETT + GARY DUMM



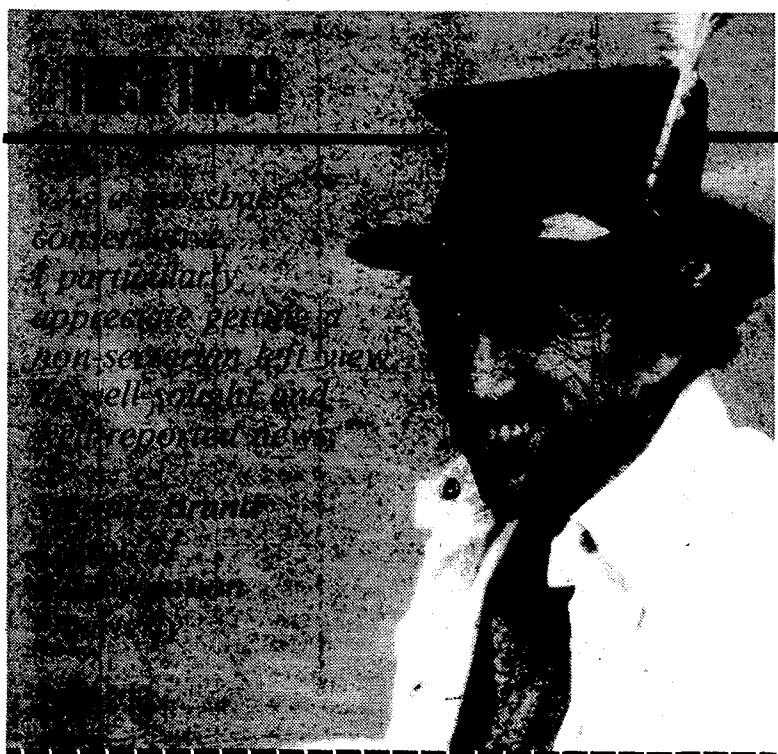
that gets him into trouble with his boss before it subsides and he reflects on his situation. His attitude toward women, here as in other stories, is frequently hostile, expressing a frustration related both to sex and class.

Issue #5 has a less bitter tone than the earlier books. "Emil" deals with an eccentric old white steelworker living in a succession of black neighborhoods and illustrates how racism is perpetuated. "Leonard and Marie" is about two older people that Pekar tried to fix up. It's partly intended as an antidote to *Harold and Maude*, the cult movie which Pekar feels treats the problem of old age in an unrealistic, patron-

izing manner.

Pekar assigns his shorter, more humorous stories to be drawn by his friend R. Crumb. His other artists, Gary Dumm, Greg Budgett and Gerry Shamray, are usually assigned to Pekar's more serious stories. They draw real-looking people in neighborhood scenes, not the stereotyped, idealized characters seen in superhero comics.

"Most straight comics have been used as a vehicle for fantasy of one kind or another," Pekar said to *In These Times*. "But it doesn't have to be that way. Comic books can be as meaningful and as expressive as any other art form."



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MUSIC

Holly Near sings about love and social change

Fire in the Rain
By Holly Near
Redwood Records

By Torie Osborn

Holly Near's fifth album on her own Redwood label is a winner—a sometimes dazzling, always pleasing and spirited musical statement by the woman Jane Fonda recently described as “one of the most influential progressive artists in the country.”

From a commercial perspective *Fire in the Rain* has breathed new life into the economically suffering alternative women's music network. Released in early March, the initial pressing (based on pre-orders) was 45,000 copies, which is nothing short of astounding in the world of small labels where yearly sales of 20,000 for an album is considered respectable. By comparison, Holly's 1979 release *Imagine My*

Surprise! pressed 10,000 initially and sold approximately 20,000 total in its first year.

Fire in the Rain represents the best all-round quality of production and packaging of any women's music album to date. Redwood went all out on this one to create a commercial, “cross-over” product, with great graphics and engineering, and a publicity campaign unprecedented for a women's label—it's the first women's music album, for example, to have its own record display stands in all record stores where it sells. In addition, a professional promotion team has launched a snazzy print ad campaign, lined up promo appearances on TV for Holly (the *Today Show*, among others), and hired radio-trackers all over the country to push for airplay on both AM and FM radio. On the advice of a music industry producer who believes it is hit rec-

ord material, one cut—the sweet country-style ballad, “Once or Twice”—was remixed for a promotional 45 to make it a more commercial country format.

The LP's musical sophistication is due in part to its producer, United Artists recording artist and professional record producer, June Millington. As well, the team of women musicians backing Holly up is the best so far on a feminist album—women were brought together from both the alternative feminist and establishment music industries. The album boasts piano, synthesizer and Rhodes-playing by Adrienne Torf; bass by Carrie Barton (from “Maiden Voyage,” the 17-piece all-women's swing band that stole the show one night on Johnny Carson earlier this year); strings by the San Francisco Women's String Ensemble; percussion by Vicki Randle, Bernice Brooks and Bon-



Vocalist Holly Near

nie Johnson; back-up vocals by Cris Williamson and Vicki Randle; harp-playing by Caille Colburn; and a horn section, arranged and conducted by Olivia recording artist Mary Watkins.

This album does the difficult task of capturing the vitality of a live Holly Near performance. Holly has more vocal control, and pushes her voice into more places, than ever before—she stretches and soars, wild, passionate, booming out, for exam-

ple, her hard-driving anti-nuke song, “Ain't Nowhere You Can Run,” and then relaxing into a silky caressing, tender ballad.

Her vocal power is matched by the lyrical excellence—more poetic and subtle than on previous albums—and musical variety of the 11 songs, all written by Holly (with some help on “Sit With Me” from Adrienne Torf). Her forceful political spirit intermingles with songs drawn from the personal side of life—one minute the woman, the lesbian, addresses with humor and poignancy the universal themes of jealousy, loneliness, or feuding with friends. The next minute the politico sings out strongly of a clerical worker's rage, an unemployed worker's frustrations, or does a rousing anti-war or anti-nuke song.

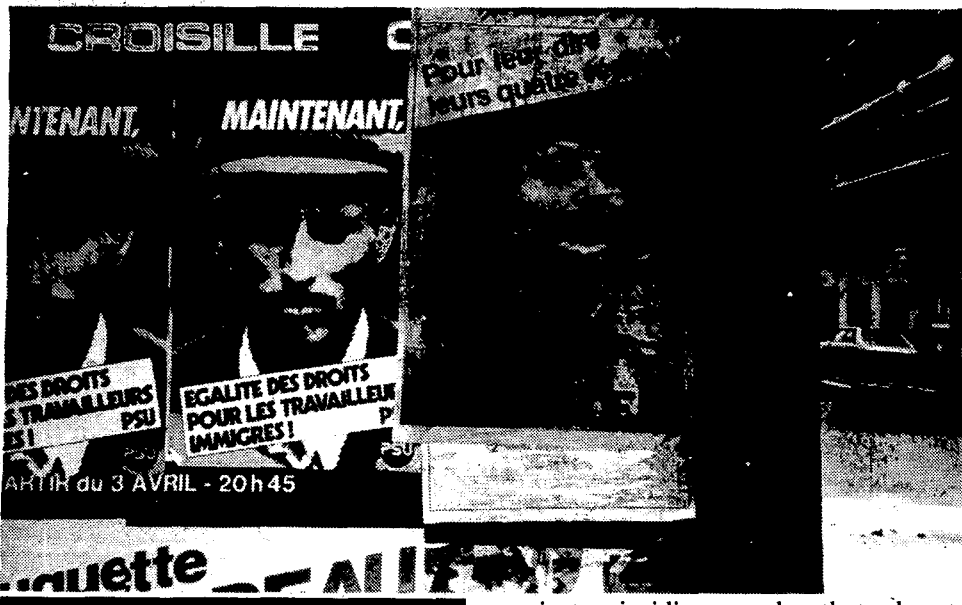
Fire in the Rain, subtitled “songs of love and change,” is an album aptly named, an album of hope in these hard times. There is an overwhelming, infectious warmth to this album. So don't be surprised if you flip on the radio in your car one day soon and hear Holly belting out a song, carrying her music with a message to an ever-larger circle of people.

Torie Osborn, a Los Angeles writer, is a producer of the West Coast Women's Music and Cultural Festival.

AMERICAN INTERIORS

By Meg Gerken





France

Continued from page 9

parties in northern Europe or in Italy. Insiders say it has borrowed heavily from the German Social Democratic Party to expand its elegant headquarters and finance an expensive campaign whose operations are often dictated by the need to give each of its temperamental "tenors" a satisfying role and each of its "great journalists" a publication to write in. If Mitterrand loses, the PS could find itself in shaky condition. Michel Rocard, who has been faithfully campaigning for the man who denied him the PS nomination, may emerge in a relatively strong position, with financial backing from modernizing businessmen.

The small fry.

Minor candidates, from currents or parties with little or no representation in parliament, are a regular feature of the first round of French presidential elections. This time the small fry were up

against an insidious new law that exhausted and eliminated most of them. To qualify, each candidate had to be sponsored by 500 mayors, so little candidates and their followers rushed from village to village in search of sufficiently eccentric or simply democratic mayors willing to give a minor candidate the opportunity to present his or her ideas. The catch was that the promises thus gathered were not binding, and before the formal signatures were collected many mayors changed their minds. Both the Communist and Socialist parties put heavy pressure on their mayors to take back promised endorsement of small candidates. This pressure knocked out Trotskyist Alain Krivine, who has run in the past two presidential elections, and nearly eliminated Unified Socialist Party (PSU) candidate Huguette Bouchardeau.

To many, the PS leadership's blackballing of the little left candidates seemed both petty and self-defeating. Krivine and Bouchardeau are both more critical of the PCF than of the Socialists and would tend to draw votes on the first round that would otherwise go to the PCF or not be cast at all (some anarchists

will vote PSU) and channel them to Mitterrand on the second round. In an election that could be extremely close (the margin last time was less than 1 percent), the far left votes could matter.

In fact, Huguette Bouchardeau is the only candidate on the left (or anywhere else) offering specific new proposals linked together by a reasonably coherent (if necessarily rudimentary) social vision. The PSU candidate advocates a comprehensive alternative energy development program to reduce dependence on both oil and nuclear power and a halt to nuclear power plant construction; decentralization, shifting decision-making power to women, employees and regions (*Autogestion*); unilateral nuclear disarmament; protection of the rights of immigrant workers and a new policy toward the third world; and reduction of the work week over the next seven years to 30 hours, based on a deliberate choice to use increased productivity to spread jobs around and avoid massive unemployment, rather than for profits and increased consumption. She is the closest thing to Barry Commoner in the French campaign.

The little left candidate who had least trouble rounding up signatures is Arlette Laguiller, whose personal appeal goes well beyond that of her Trotskyist militant group, *Lutte Ouvrière* (Worker Struggle). Her message, as usual, is that all the big candidates are out to deceive and betray the workers, and her posters bear slogans like "Let Arlette tell them off!" The far left is not immune to the empty selling techniques that have taken over politics.

On the right, two small Gaullist candidates should help Chirac cut into Giscard's vote. One is old-fashioned patriot Michel Debre, the funniest candidate after Marchais, and the other is the late president Pompidou's mysterious right-hand woman and axe-wielder, Marie-France Garaud, who has emerged from

the shadows to play a well-to-do Joan of Arc warning against the Russians. Speculation over who is backing her surprise candidacy centers on French military intelligence.

New right leader Pascal Gauchon has said he wants to combine Chirac's style with Reagan's ideas. Gauchon's ideas include restricting abortion in favor of a maternal salary (no moral pretense here, just a frank desire to make those women get in there and breed), limitation of union rights, and a unified Europe complete with strong executive, its own armed forces and a single economy. Despite his co-sponsorship of the French "Reagan for president" committee last fall, Gauchon was still not respectable enough to get on the ballot.

Michel Crepeau got on the ballot as candidate of the small Left Radical Party, a PS satellite that was the third party to the defunct left common program.

On the other hand, ecological candidate Brice Lalonde was a victim of the Socialist Party boycott of small candidates. Cannily, the Giscardians moved into the breach to try to round up signatures for Lalonde, thus hoping to pick up ecological votes in the runoff.

Several months ago, the Paris smart set perked up for a good long laugh when vaudeville comedian Coluche announced his candidacy. He was enthusiastically supported by some celebrated intellectuals who saw a chance to denounce presidential power and the low level of political debate. But Coluche (his real name is Michel Colucci) was never anywhere near as comic as George Marchais, and as time passed politics made him sadder and sadder. Finally, Coluche seemed to be the only one taking it all seriously, writing articles for *Le Monde* and starting a hunger strike to protest a media ban against him. After ending up in the hospital, he gave up and said he would probably vote for François Mitterrand.

Canada

Continued from page 11

top of the \$3.2 billion (Canadian) paid out for price compensation in 1980.

Canada's federalism is a curious arrangement. At one level the country appears to be like the United States, with the provinces enjoying considerable economic and political powers. State expenditure at the center is now at 39 percent of the total, no larger than provincial expenditure, with the local authorities making up the rest. Even more than in the U.S., the politics of the center diverge from those of the provinces: whereas the Liberal Party of Pierre Trudeau has been in office in Ottawa since February 1980, the Liberal Party does not have a majority in a single of the nation's 10 provincial assemblies. The language issue, pitting Anglophone against Francophone, is more divisive than any comparable issue in the U.S. Between the optimistic car license-plate motto of Ontario—"Keep It Beautiful"—and the slightly resentful motto of Quebec—"Je Me Souviens"—lies a deep historical and cultural gap.

Yet Canadian politics has other, more European, features as well. Canada has a powerful permanent civil service of the British variety. Its politics divide more visibly on a left-right axis than do those of its southern neighbor. Its social services are among the most extensive of any developed capitalist country. The taste of urban life is also in some measure European: crime rates are not at the same level as in the U.S., the streets of Toronto sport English pubs and photos of Lady Diana Spencer, those of Montreal boast excellent French restaurants and the Fleur de Lys, the provincial emblem.

The root of the matter.

But behind the dispute on federalism and the wrangle over patriation lies another much deeper, and temporarily obscured problem. For the real issue facing Canada is not a phantom British responsibility, nor the often hyperbolic dispute between Ottawa and the provinces, but the relationship between Canada as a whole and its more powerful neighbor. This is

the real cause of many of Canada's problems, and the unspoken root of the present malaise.

The dispute between French and English in Canada, for example, has been exacerbated by the fact that the predominance of the English within Canada itself has been greatly extended by the weight of U.S. culture. Yet the cultural insecurity of the Anglophone Canadians is in part a reflection of the fact that many of their best products are simply absorbed into the culture of the southern giant—from economist John Kenneth Galbraith to actor Donald Sutherland. Geography, too, plays its role: Canadians sometimes compare their demographic structure to that of Chile: 90 percent of the population live in a belt of habitation that runs within 100 miles of the U.S. border from coast to coast. While other parts of Canada may be days away, the U.S. is never more distant than a two-hour drive.

This southern connection is even more striking in the economic field. According to Desbarats, Canada has the highest level of foreign economic control of any industrialized country: 59 percent of all manufacturing is foreign-controlled, and 45 percent of corporate financing is raised abroad. The main controller is the U.S. (trade between the two countries was \$95 billion last year), and these economic ties also provide the key to the self-confidence of Canadian provinces. Resistant as it may be on cultural matters, Quebec relies for part of its prosperity on the sale of hydroelectric power to the northern states of the U.S. and any autonomous Quebec would have been forced to integrate itself even further with the Anglo-Saxon monster to the south. Alberta's self-assertion owes not a little to the fact that most of its oil companies are American-owned and share the reluctance of the Alberta provincial government to go along with Trudeau's plans to increase Canadian ownership of the oil industry.

Canada's foreign policy has zig-zagged in recent years in its handling of the U.S. connection. Ottawa supported Washington on the Olympics boycott and has just extended a defense treaty for five years. But Canada has criticized U.S. policy on El Salvador, has continued aid to Cuba and Nicaragua, and is resentful of U.S. refusal to ratify a new fishing rights

agreement. Canadians are also angered by the Reagan administration's relaxation of environmental controls that threaten to increase pollution of the Great Lakes and to increase the amount of polluted or "acid" rain that falls on Canada as a result of U.S. industrial practices.

Though Reagan's visit to Ottawa in mid-March produced some fine statements, little substantive agreement on these issues was reached and the Cana-

dians are likely to resent U.S. pressures to fall into line as much as the Europeans and the Japanese do. In the light of these enduring and rather more material ties of dependency the dispute about Britain's residual constitutional role appears as little more than a side-show.

Fred Halliday, an editorial associate of MERIP Reports and New Left Review, writes regularly for In These Times.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

LOS ANGELES, CA

April & May

The Westcoast Association of Marxist Historians (WAMH) has a two-fold purpose: (1) to address concerns of radical scholars and to facilitate communication among them; and (2) to connect our work as scholars with current struggles. These goals are accomplished through activities which include: forums, study groups, a newsletter, and direct work with community groups. In April and May forums will be presented on: U.S. Foreign Policy and Central America; Marxist Theories of Patriarchy; Plant Closures and the KKK; Reaganomics. For more information write: WAMH, c/o History, UCLA, LA, CA 90024.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

April 24

The film, "Revolution or Death" will be shown at 8:00 p.m. at the first floor auditorium of Keane Hall, Catholic University. There will also be a speaker to discuss the situation in El Salvador and to answer questions. Sponsored by the D.C. Mid-Atlantic Radical Historians Organization.

April 25-26

The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy is sponsoring a conference entitled "The Militarization of Central America—U.S. Policy Toward El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua." Speakers include: Bernt Carlsson, Carlos Paredes, Rep. Robert

Edgar, Mary Ann Mahaffey, John Foster and Allen Howard. On April 27th there will be an opportunity for congressional visits. For more information, contact: Coalition, 122 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202)546-8400.

CHICAGO, IL

May 1

Legendary Muckraking journalist I.F. Stone will speak on "Lawless Nations and Planetary Peril" at a 7:00 p.m. fundraising dinner for Business and Professional People for the Public Interest (BPP) on Friday at the Ambassador West Hotel. Tickets, tax-deductible, are \$50.00. For reservations, call 641-5570.

May 2

The PEOPLE, YES—a May Day festival in celebration of the art and culture of working people. With Fred Holstein, Finan & Henry, Lucky Lopez & "Just Folks," Peggy Lipshultz, the People's School of Music, plus many more performers. A full-length play, "Sit Down '36," poetry, song swapping, workshops and an art exhibit. Hyde Park Union Church, 5600 S. Woodlawn from 1:50 p.m. and The Center for Continuing Education, 1307 E. 60th Street from 7:30 on. \$2.00 for the afternoon, \$4.00 for the evening, and \$5.00 for all day. For more information, call: (312)721-1469. Sponsored by the Chicago Area Chapter of the Trade Union Action League.

B O O N E, I A

May 22-25

The Sixth Annual Radical Therapy Conference: "Confronting the New Right." Workshops, Therapy Community gatherings, Evening social events. All interested folks are needed. For more information, contact: Midwest Radical Therapy Conference, Box 521, Madison, WI 53701. (608)257-9764.

Rockwell

Continued from page 24

raised my hand and was recognized.

I have no question, but I do have a comment, Mr. Chairman, I said. I heard my voice twice, as it left my head and entered the microphone, and as it bounced back from the distant walls.

We are not only shareholders in Rockwell, I said, but shareholders in human life, the life of this planet. And it is this larger enterprise that is most compelling, and that makes Rockwell's development and production of first-strike nuclear weapons a concern.

I spoke of my worries as an English teacher, a writer and a mother.

As an English teacher, I said, I want my students to think clearly and to use language honestly. But students know very well that to consider tens of thousands, if not millions, of deaths "acceptable damage" means that life doesn't matter very much. If, as Robert McNamara once said, we could "tolerate" losses of a quarter to a third of our people, we does the Bible mean? What good is Shakespeare's poetry, or an idea clear-

ly stated? When my students are called "soft targets," or the end of their lives is called "collateral damage," how can they think clearly or write honestly?

Do you have a question? the chairman asked.

No, I replied, but you also asked for comments, Mr. Chairman, and I would like to continue with my comment.

Be brief then, he ordered.

As a writer, I said, I try to save, use and pass on the language of my ancestors to my grandchildren, as if it were the family silver. Nothing I want to write about, nothing I really value, can be defended by MX missiles or plutonium triggers or Navstar, but everything I care about can be destroyed by such weapons, and it doesn't matter which side uses them.

As a mother, I continued, I teach my children to accept responsibility for their actions and to care about the well-being of others. It's hard to do this when government and business together care more about the "survivability" of missiles than of people.

Corporate managers, I said, had told me that government makes policies and that business merely fills orders. But international law says that individuals have duties that transcend obedience to the nation; that individuals are respon-

sible for criminal violations of international law if they are principals or accessories; if they order or abet or have a consenting part in the commission of war crimes; if they are connected with plans or enterprises involving the commission of war crimes; if they hold high positions in the financial, industrial or economic life of a country committing war crimes. International law says that the right to injure an enemy is not unlimited, that weapons are illegal if they cannot tell the difference between combatants and non-combatants, between neutrals and belligerents, if they contaminate or poison the environment, destroy hospitals, schools or food supplies, or cause unnecessary suffering.

I went on to say that I'd been told that profits are the bottom line, and nuclear weapons are—I had no doubt—highly profitable. But international law, like domestic law, does not decree that making money is the only or the highest purpose of human life. The God of the Old Testament said the same thing: "Thou shalt have no other bottom line before me."

I intended to finish by repeating that shareholders in any company are first of all shareholders in life, and that as such, we must instruct our company to dismantle their nuclear weapons produc-

tion and at the same time to be careful of the well-being of their employees. But I was too scared. I was intensely aware of the chairman and his growing anger and his power to sever my amplified vocal cords. All around me people had craned their necks and laughed. It seemed to me that the faces leered with wide, grotesque mouths.

There was a spatter of applause as I sat down. A young woman handed me a card with spaces for my name and address. "For our files," she said, and a young man tapped my shoulder. "I'm keeping records," he said, "and I need the correct spelling of your name."

The chairman quickly adjourned the meeting. People left as quietly and fast as they had come. In the lobby the Danish pastries, orange juice and coffee were gone without a trace, replaced by plastic shopping bags bearing the Rockwell logo and by calendars for 1982.

The bus, when I got on it, seemed across the border of another country. On it were the gray, ruined complexions, the cheap, ill-fitting clothes, the fatigue that had always seemed quite normal. I had to wade through thick slush to get from the bus stop to my house, and my one good pair of shoes was soaked. ■
Liane Norman, a Quaker, teaches journalism at the University of Pittsburgh.

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At the Rockwell Shareholders Meeting

By LIANE ELLISON NORMAN

PITTSBURGH

THE DAY STARTED WARM but gray. By the time I had ridden the bus to the Hilton Hotel, a cold wind had come up and was whipping fine sleet around. Outside there was a small picket with signs that wilted in the weather. There were limousines drawn up at the hotel's front entrance, a parade of them, moving slowly, smoothly.

The Rockwell International Shareholders meeting was to take place in the ballroom, but Rockwell had cordoned off a large section of carpeted lobby. To get in you had to have an adhesive-backed badge identifying you as "Shareholder." I was there with a proxy to speak to a resolution introduced by the American Friends Service Committee, the Dominican Fathers' Province of St. Albert the Great and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

I am familiar with morning meetings that begin with cardboard-tasting doughnuts and tepid coffee in

styrofoam cups. Rockwell had provided enormous trays heaped with perfect Danish pastries. There were gallons of orange juice and stylish urns of coffee. I was too nervous to eat.

The shareholders stepped from their limousines—sheltered from the weather—onto carpets. There was no convivial clatter. Shareholders went to the ballroom where they sat subdued, in colorless good taste, coiffed, silver-haired, balding. I saw no garish colors, no pitted complexions, no inconsiderate make-up.

The ballroom was immense. There were somewhere between 500 and 1,000 people in rows of chairs, and there was plenty of space for double that many, in a room paneled dark brown and painted with vertical sprays of tasteful garlands. At the back of the room was a control booth with projectors. There were about 16 microphones in various aisles, each with a young woman sitting nearby holding a card that showed the number of that microphone.

The chairman called the meeting to order. He and four other men, all soberly suited and, from the distance at which I sat, nearly alike, presided from a dais raised so high that they

seemed to float above the lowlier shareholders.

Business was conducted without a murmur. There was a little discussion from the floor, nearly all of it from an emphatic, dry-voiced little man near the front, whom the chairman called, with conspicuous tolerance, "Mr. Gilbert."

Terry Provance from AFSC introduced and explained the resolution that interested us: opposition to the MX missile system, for which Rockwell is the prime contractor, is growing. When similar opposition resulted in the cancellation of the B-1 bomber, for which Rockwell was also the prime contractor, many employees lost their jobs. Therefore he proposed that the shareholders instruct Rockwell to establish an MX Contingency Planning Committee. This committee would come up with alternative uses of equipment and facilities and other employment for workers at each plant.

We moved to the microphones. As the chair recognized each speaker, the young woman with the cardboard number held up her placard, which told the chair which microphone to turn on. I was acutely aware that the chair could also turn off what he had turned on. A woman from FOR spoke passionately about the immorality of nuclear weapons.

The chair was displeased and told her that the decision to build nuclear weapons was not at issue. Please address the resolution, he said.

A young man from SANE spoke about the strategic inadvisability of such a system as the MX. A nun from Colorado spoke of the health hazards created by Rockwell's Rocky Flats plant, where plutonium triggers for all American nuclear weapons are produced.

The chair reiterated that these matters were not to the point. Rockwell has no responsibility for the decision whether or not nuclear weapons are built.

Mr. Gilbert stood to proclaim that he supported Rockwell's military work and there was vigorous applause.

A stir of unease went through the crowd. A group of six people had gone

to the front and unfurled a banner. It read, "Rockwell: It's a sin to build nuclear weapons." Instantly a number of the burlier of the well-dressed men in the front rows turned into Rockwell security people, who surrounded the banner-carriers and hustled them out of the room. Some of those who carried the banner told me later that the security men were upset. "How did you get that in here?" they had asked.

It was time for shareholders' reports—two identical films shown simultaneously on screens raised high above the chairman and his colleagues. The lights went out and the smoothly-paced color show came on. The first part raved about Rockwell's civilian production and the profits that accrued to it. The second part boasted about Rockwell's military production. The highest profits are in military contracts, rejoiced the neutral voice-over, and Rockwell intends to lead the way. Afterward the chairman spoke warmly about how much the new administration would help Rockwell in its quest for profits through missiles, lasers and bombs, about the need for national security based on great arsenals, about the Russian threat. There was fervent—I thought relieved—applause.

In the category of "new business," Molly Rush (one of the Plowshares Eight, about to be tried for damaging General Electric's Mark 12-A precision warheads) took the floor. A small woman with a low, resonant voice, she recommended that at the next meeting of the Board of Directors, the corporation's responsibility under international law be considered. Certain kinds of weapons, she said, had no right to exist under international law.

The chairman was brusque. We've heard enough of this sort of thing, he said, and turned off her microphone.

I had worked on on the statement I planned to make earlier. But I was sure I'd missed any chance to have my say. However, the business being finished, the chairman became a hint more genial. Are there any questions or comments before we adjourn? he inquired. I

Continued on page 23

